A SOUVENIR

OF

THE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATION

OF THE

DEPARTMENT FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS,

TRIVANDRUM.



HIS HIGHNESS
THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Sanskrit and vernacular learning and literature as well as the arts have, throughout the ages, owed a great deal to the discerning and lavish patronage of successive Rulers in every part of India and Travancore has not only taken a high place in this worthy race but has produced kings who have achieved renown in musical composition and in poetry.

It is therefore in the fitness of things that the Government of Travancore and the Palace have been active in the encouragement of the noteworthy activities of the Curator's department.

All lovers of Sanskrit are aware of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and its unearthing of rare manuscripts, well edited publication of important works and I understand that similar work has been done in Malayalam.

The testimony borne to its labours on this auspicious occasion of the Jubilee of the institution by scholars like Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris, Dr. Edgerton of Yale and Dr. Keith of Edinburgh speaks for itself and it is the hope of all who value scholarship and the things of the spirit that under the continued patronage of the State, the department may be a real centre of Oriental research.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR,
K. C. I. E.

A BRIEF RESUME OF THE Working of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts till 1934.

Introduction. I have very great pleasure in announcing that the department for the publication of Oriental Manuscripts has completed the twenty-fifth year of its existence and that the celebration of its Silver Jubilee is proposed to be conducted to day in obedience to the generous sanction of the Government. It is my good fortune that I have been privileged to celebrate this Jubilee as the presiding officer of this department It is only in the fitness of things that a brief account of the working of the department should be placed before the public on this occasion. No opportunity has afforded itself till now to let the public know that the main work of this department is collection, preservation and publication of manuscripts. One of the principal duties to be discharged by the Curator in connection with the proposed establishment of a Central Manuscripts Library in the near future, is that he should travel throughout the State and deliver public lectures regarding the scope and utility of this department. As that work has not yet been commenced, I take this opportunity to submit the following report regarding the working of this institution.

Printing in Devanagari characters was not prevalent in Travancore four decades ago. As a number of priceless Ṣanskrit works were locked up in dark chambers of the various libraries and as the general public as well as the votaries of learning were eager to get at them, His Highness Sri Mulam Tirunal, the late Maharaja, for the first time commanded the getting down of Nagari types for the Government Press. In doing so, His Highness's intention was to publish the manuscripts (*Granthas*) in the *Granthappura* (Library) in the Palace. At any rate, the introduction of printing in Devanagari was conducive to the development of general culture. It was first decided to print the *Bhakti Manjari*, a *Stotra Grantha* (a book of hymns) from the *Granthappura.* This work is the composition of His Most Gracious Highness Svati Tirunal; a sovereign of high talents

in the field of literature and music, whose songs are the embodiment of the bliss of self-realisation. The decision to print this work might have been due to its being a hymn in praise of Sri Padmanabha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal Family.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganapathi Sastrial, Principal of the Sanskrit College, was then in charge of the Palace Library and he was entrusted, without prejudice to his own duties, with the printing of these *Granthas* To help him in his work, Government appointed as scribe on 14-12-1903, one Mr. R. Subrahmonya Sastrial. The preparation of the *Bhakti Manjari* for the Press was immediately taken up. The scribe had to present himself for duty at the house of Dr. Ganapathi Sastrial who had to correct the manuscripts during mornings, evenings and holidays.

The preparation of *Daiva with Purushakara*, a grammatical work, was begun on 1-4-1904 and it was sent to the Press on 1-8-1904. It is this work that has been recorded as the first number of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Though *Bhakti Manjari* was the first publication to be made, yet *Daiva* came to be numbered as the first in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, for, His Highness Sri Mulam Tirunal was pleased to command that *Bhakti Manjari* and *Syanandurapuravarnanaprabandha* also by Svati Tirunal, be given away as gifts to those that recite them daily. These were therefore not included in the Series. Moreover, the work *Daiva with Purushakara* was permitted to be the first as a suggestion that success results only when God's Grace (Daivam) and human endeavour (Purushakaram) are combined.

On 9-7-1905, (1) *Abhinavakaustubhamala* and *Dakshinamurtistava*, (2) *Nalabhyudaya* and (3) *Durghatavrtti* were sent to the Press. On 1-2-1906, *Vyaktiviveka*, a work on rhetoric, and on 5-3-1909 *Brahmatattvaprakasika* were prepared and sent to the Press. Of these, *Bhakti Manjari* was printed in 1904, *Daivam* and *Abhinavakaustubhamala* and *Dakshinamurtistava* in 1905, *Nalabhyudaya* in 1907, and all were published before August 1908.

His Highness the Maharaja, who was highly interested in the spread of knowledge, was extremely pleased with these publications on account of their importance and utility, the commendable manner in which they were edited and the excellent printing, and commanded the creating of a separate department for the publication of not only the existing valuable Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace Library but

also those treasured up in the private libraries of ancient families in the land, thereby enhancing the literary prestige of the ancient scholars of the State. Therefore the Government announced in G. O. No. E. 3037 dated 19-8-1908 the inauguration of a separate department and on 4-9-1908/19-1-1084, this office came into existence with Dr. Ganapati Sastrial at its head. This institution, the Jubilee festivities of which we are celebrating today, owes its development to the untiring labours of Dr. Ganapati Sastrial and the sympathetic appreciation of His Highness the Maharaja.

CONTROL. When the department was created, it was placed under the control of the Director of Public Instruction. But Government in their proceedings No. E. 200, dated the 11th February 1910, placed this department under the direct control of the Huzur and it continues to be so.

Strictly speaking, 1928 must be considered as the year for the Silver Jubilee Celebration as the preparation, printing and publication of manuscripts were begun in 1903, when Dr. Ganapati Sastrial was also the Principal of the Sanskrit College. Yet as the work was not done by a separate departmental head, the period prior to August 1908 may be regarded as one of embryonic development and hence left out of calculation. Calculated from the date of creation of a separate department, 4-9-1933 is the day on which 25 years are completed, Yet, this day has been chosen as the occasion for the celebration of this function as it falls within the auspicious week of the Pallikkettu Ceremony (Royal Wedding) of Her Highness Sri Kartika Tirunal, and in view of the facility to secure the co-operation and felicitations of eminent men from this locality as well as from outside. Though the department is but 25 years old yet, judged by the prestige it enjoys, its fame and importance, it can take credit for work which in ordinary course would take many more years to get through. 113 works in Sanskrit and 46 in Malayalam, in all 159 works have been published.

The following is a statement of the work turned out in the States of Mysore and Baroda in this field with the number of hands employed, expenditure involved and the time taken for the purpose. A comparison with our figures

will, I may mention with pardonable pride, clearly show how this department was able to achieve more at a smaller cost and in less time.

States.	No. of years during which the department has been in existence.	No. of works published	No. of hands employed.	Cost to Government.
				Rs.
Mysore .	47	101	29	22,278
Baroda .	20	67	11	33,385
Travancore .	31	159	12	13,133

A detailed statement showing the expenditure for these departments in the three states is also given below.

States.	Items.	Budget Estimate for 1933-34.		
		No.	Rate.	Amount.
			Rs.	Rs.
Mysore	Curator .	1	50 (allowance)	600
	Assistant Curator .	1	150-10-200	2,280
	Clerk .	1	25-2½-50	600
	Pandit Clerk .	1	25-2½-50	360
	Servants .	8	(14), 3 (13). 4 (12)	1,212
	SECTION II.			
	MANUSCRIPTS AND PUBLICATIONS.			
	Graduate specialised in Kannada .	1	100-10-120	1,800
	Resident Pandits to assist in Publication of Sanskrit and Kannada Works respectively.	1	85-8-125	1,116
		2	60-4-80	1,488
	Travelling Pandit to assist in the Collection of Manuscripts in Sanskrit and Kannada .	1	60-4-80	816
	Pandits to assist in the preparation of the descriptive catalogue .	2	40-4-60	1,320

States.	Items	Budget Estimate for 1933-34.		
		No.	Rate.	Amount.
			Rs.	Rs.
Mysore—(*contd.*)	Proof readers for Sanskrit and Kannada	2	35-3-50	972
	Copyists for Sanskrit and Kannada	2	30-2-40	840
	Pandit Librarian to be in charge of the manuscripts	1	40-4-60	720
	Literate Attenders	2	17-1-20	480
	SECTION III.			
	PRINTED BOOKS.			
	Librarian	1	60-4-80	720
	Literate attenders	2	17-1-20	480
	Increments accruing in the year	...	...	192
	Deduct Salary cut	...	...	488
	Total I	29	...	15,508
	II. Travelling Allowance	...	..	350
	III Contingencies—			
	(i) Office expenses	...	..	475
	(ii) Purchase and Repair of Furniture	...	..	185
	(iii) Purchase of Manuscripts and Books	...	..	1,545
	(iv) Binding charges	...	.	400
	(v) Clothing to menials	...	..	65
	(vi) Electric lighting charges	...	..	200
	(vii) Printing charges	...	..	3,460
	(viii) Stationery	..	..	90
	Total I to III	..	..	22,278
	I			
	Salaries.			
Travancore	Curator	1	150	1,800
	Honorarium as Malayalam Curator	..	25	300

States.	Items.	Budget Estimates for 1933-34.		
		No.	Rate.	Amount.
			Rs.	Rs.
Travancore—(*contd.*)	*Establishment*			
	Head Pandit	1	70-5/1-100	1,070
	Pandits	2	50-5/1-70	1,580
	Chief Pandit	1	50	600
	Assistant Pandits	3	40-2/1-50	1,800
	Clerk	1	25-5/3-40	430
	Peons	3	9-1/6-11	408
	Total I	12	..	7,988
	II			
	Allowances.			
	Travelling Allowance	..	..	250
	III			
	Contingencies.			
	Petty Construction and repairs ; Collection and transcription of rare manuscripts.	..	..	50 300
	Rents	..	..	978
	Purchase and repair of furniture	..	..	100
	Purchase of Books	..	..	25
	Anchal charges	..	..	50
	Maintenance of Electric Installation	...	..	20
	Pay of Menials	...	..	72
	Electric current	..	..	100
	Office expenses and miscellaneous	..	..	200
	Expenditure in connection with the printing of the publications in the Government Press	..	..	3,000
	Total of I to III	..	..	13,133

Baroda

Institute consists of :—

(1) Director . 450—75/3 -700.

(2 & 3) Two Superintendents: one for MSS, the other for Printed Section.

MSS Supdt. 100—10/2—150.
Printed Sec. 60—10/2—100.

(4 & 5) Two Pandits :—

Jain Pandit 100—10/2—150.
Srauta Pandit 100—10/2—150

(6) Head Clerk 42—50.
(7) MS Copyist 20—40.
(8) Accountant 20—40.
(9) Despatcher 20—40.

Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5 form the editorial staff.

The Transalation Branch which was transferred to the Institute consists of :—

1. Translation Assistant 90—10/2—140.
2. Head Clerk 20—40

Budget allotment sanctioned for the current year is 33385. It is divided under the following heads as under :—

	Rs.
(1) Permanent establishment	17,868.
(2) Dead stock	200.
(3) Contingency	560.
(4) G. O. S. Printing	12,000.
(5) Premium for Fire Insurance	157.
(6) Bhatta etc.	100.
(7) Form-printing	200.
(8) Book purchase	1,000.
(9) MSS Purchase	1,000.
(10) Book-binding	300.
Total	Rs. 33,385.

It is not only because of the large number of publications, but also because of their excellence that this department enjoys high prestige and great importance. In this

connection, Sanakrit works like Bhasa's plays, *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa*, *Skandasvami Bhasya*, *Aryabhatiya* and Malayalam works like *Arthasastra Bhashavyakhya* require special mention.

Bhasa's Plays. With the publication of Bhasa's plays, Travancore shines in the literary world with ever increasing splendour. Even today this department that brought these plays to light is held in high esteem by learned men, who ever honour Travancore and its rulers for establishing this institution. Though these plays were first brought to light by the Curator, I will be failing in my duty, if I do not make mention of a fact that I have heard, which redounds to the glory of the Royal Family of Travancore. His Highness Sri Ayilliam Tirunal, G. C. S. I., Maharaja of Travancore (1860-1880), who was a master of many fine arts, who was delighted in literature and music and who always safeguarded the prestige of his State, was a research scholar of a high order as is evinced by the fact that he ordered the collection of all the manuscripts found in the various places in the State, especially in Padmanabhapuram, in Southern Travancore, with a view to treasure them up in the Palace Library. It is worthy of note that this collection included manuscripts unearthed from the Manalikkara Matom. His Highness the Maharaja while examining these works bearing in mind the following sloka from Rajasekharakavi (regarding authorship)

"भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥"

happened to look into a *Grantha* which he identified as "Svapnavasavadatta", the most important of Bhasa's plays. From that time His Highness began to take a keener interest in literature of the same kind and in the publication of Bhasa's plays. It redounds in no small measure to the glory of the Royal Family of this State that the rulers of this land are ever keen and ready to bring about the publication of such rare and important works.

The world is also indebted to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganapati Sastrial for the publication of Bhasa's plays. With their publication a lot of controversy and doubts arose regarding the authorship of the plays which were met by Dr. Ganapati Sastrial on the basis of valid and cogent arguments. The late lamented Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampuran C. S. I., the Kalidasa of Kerala and Professor

A. R. Raja Raja Varma Koil Tampuran, the Panini of Kerala, have both borne testimony to the fact that His Highness Sri Ayilliam Tirunal had identified *Svapnavasavadatta* as one of Bhasa's plays. The controversialists too must have known of this and must purposely have avoided confessing the truth lest it should weaken their view point. Had it not been for the keen interest taken by His Highness Sri Ayilliam Tirunal Maharaja and the creation of a separate department for Sanskrit Publications by His Highness Sri Mulam Tirunal Maharaja and the untiring efforts of Dr. Ganapati Sastrial, the Curator, Bhasa's plays would never have seen the light of day.

Aryamanjusrimulakalpa. This is a Tantric work pertaining to Buddhism. This manuscript was obtained from Manalikkara Matom at Padmanabhapuram. This manuscript which is written in bold characters with a broad margin at the ends and narrow top and bottom margins with a clear space all round the two holes, bears the appearance of a printed one. It is in Sanskrit characters but even the best Sanskrit scholars had to experience considerable difficulty in making it out as the lines were continuous, without any break between words. This seems to have been written with a kind of resinous ink. This manuscript comprises 307 palm leaves, each page containing six lines (17½ *Granthas*). With a view to correct the grammatical errors found in this manuscript Professor Sylvain Levi of the Sarbone (Paris) was addressed and he wrote back to say that he had come across only a Chinese translation of it and that the original should be published at the earliest opportunity. From the prefatory note written by Dr. Ganapati Sastrial, it is seen that Professor Sylvain Levi was thus responsible for the publication of this work. Pandit K. P. Jayasval, the famous historian and research scholar, extols this publication in view of the fact that it embraces the Imperial History of India from 600 B. C., to 770 A. D. He says—:

> "In a Budhist work called *Manjusrimulakalpa*, which is in Sanskrit, there is a Book of Royal History. The whole book has been printed by the Travancore Government and the part having the 'Royal History' came out in 1925. This book gives the history of India (*a*) from the time of the Buddha upto the Mauryas, (*b*) the persecutors of the Buddhist religion (*i. e.*, Pushyamitra) under the name

> "Gomin," then, (c) the reviver of Buddhism—a dynasty of two kings from Yaksha country whom, for reasons set out elsewhere, I have identified with the two Kadphises, then after dealing with some (d) provincial histories, it takes up (e) the imperial history of Inner India.........The *Manjusrimulakalpa* decided once for all that the treatment of Indian history from the Gupta times upto the Pala period has to be radically revised".

It is worthy of special mention that Mr. K. P. Jayasval is preparing a new history of India, based on *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa,* as the result of his study of this work has become too large to be published in any periodical and, that requisitions for this publication are continuosly pouring in.

Skandasvami Bhashya. This is a very rare and ancient Bhashya on the Rgveda with a concurrent commentary of Venkatamadhava. The renowned Sanskrit Scholar Professor Max Muller, who for the first time brought out the Rgveda with the commentary of Sayanacharya does not make mention of this work of Skandasvamin thereby showing that he did not come across this rare manuscript. Sayanacharya, who is greatly respected as a man of letters, himself admits that Skandasvamin was a greater authority and deserved greater recognition and respect. It is a matter for pride for Travancore that this *Bhashya* was obtained from this land itself. Again, Skandasvamin was the Guru of Harisvamin who was the son of Govindasvami. This Govindasvami was the Guru of Jagad Guru Sri Sankaracharya, and an examination of the period in which Skandasvamin flourished leads us to the conclusion that Sri Sankaracharya's time was two hundred years earlier. This commentary of Venkatamadhava is the essence of the meaning of the Veda. Venkatamadhacharya has the peculiar gift of describing with the aid of Karikas at the beginning of the chapter a pretty large quantity of information Professor A. B. Keith, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Professor Franklin Edgerton and Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao have all appreciated this edition in the following terms :—

> "It is particularly gratifying that it has been possible to undertake the issue of the commentaries of Skandasvamin and Venkatamadhava on the Rgveda. We have long desired the issue of commentaries

earlier than that of Sayana, and the new publication affords a valuable means of tracing the development of the interpretation of the most important text of Vedic literature. Its continuation will be warmly welcomed".

A. B. KEITH.

" The edition of the Rgveda with two commentaries of Skandasvami and Venkatamadhava is one of the most important new works in your series. It cannot fail to arouse a general interest. The commentary of Skandasvamin seems to be sound and sensible and that of Madhava, who in his introductory verses shows a due sense of the qualifications required in an expositor of the Rgveda, is commendably brief. You are doing work in publishing this edition".

F. W. THOMAS.

" I am specially interested in No. 96, the beginning of the publication of the commentaries of Skandasvamin and Venkatamadhava on the Rgvedasamhita. This is a highly important work which will be of the grertest interest to all Sanskrit scholars. I intend to study it carefully, and expect to make it the subject of a special seminar with my advanced students of Sanskrit next year in Yale University. After doing this I shall not fail to print in some American Journal, a notice of the work, calling attention to the exceptional interest and importance. I sincerely hope that you will be able to continue publishing the rest of this work with great rapidity".

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

Patan Bhavan,
Bangalore, 11-4-1930.

Dear Mr. Sastriar,

I was particularly pleased with the publication of Skandasvamin's Bhashya which Travancore has the proud privilege of having discovered and published.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO.

The last lines are written in his own hand. He seems to have felt very great pleasure at Travancore's being able to publish the work.

Aryabhatiya Bhashya. This Bhashya of Gargya Nilakanta Somayaji not merely forms an exposition but is an unrivalled amplification of the astronomical work of Aryabhata even as Patanjali's Bhasya is to Paniniya. People haven't seen one like it till now and now this Bhasya is a matter of great wonder to the scholars in British India and abroad and therefore a matter of satisfaction to the whole of Kerala. It is clear from this work that Somayaji was the Guru of the revered Ezhuttachchan, though many a Pandit has believed otherwise.

Arthasastra Bhashavyakhya. This is an old commentary in Malayalam of Kautalya's work. The manuscript is more than 1,000 years old and was obtained from the Palace Granthappura and it is a matter for no small pride that we were in possession of the manuscript which is more than a thousand years old. Dr. Ganapati Sastrial has published a Sanskrit commentary for the *Arthasastra* and it has been very much commended by savants. When we remember that this Malayalam commentary was as much responsible for Dr. Ganapati Sastrial's work as the substance to its shadow then only we can in any way judge how important a work it should be. This has been made known in the preface to this work.

If I were to go on in this strain, I have a great deal to say. I shall therefore content myself with the specific allusions I have made above.

Malayalam Publications. Though during the ten years following 1908, the publication of Sanskrit works was in full swing, the collection of Malayalam works was also attended to. About 25 books like *Ramacarita*, an ancient Malayalam manuscript bordering too much on Tamil were collected. The publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts roused the consciousness of the lovers of Malayalam and a demand for a similar treatment to this language of the land was incessantly made. Resolutions were brought in the Council to the effect that the expenditure under the head 'Preservation of Oriental Literature' should not exclusively be used for Sanskrit but should be shared between Malayalam and Sanskrit. The Curator replied that since many rare works in Sanskit were

awaiting publication, it would not be possible to undertake Malayalam Publications with the existing staff. Thereupon with effect from 14-1-1924, the Government passed orders in G. O. No. 422 dated the 9th January 1924 appointing a Pandit on Rs. 50 for collection and Publication of Malayalam Manuscripts and placing them under the then Secretary Mr. Ullur S. Paramesvara Aiyar. He continued to be the Malayalam Curator till 1-7-1925 and published the first nine works from *Gurudakṣiṇapaṭṭu* to *Vyavahāramāla*, under the title Śrī Mūlam Malayalam Series, each one of which deserves great praise. Then Dr. Sankara Menon, Director of Ayurveda, was appointed Curator without prejudice to his own duties, for the publication of Malayalam and Ayurveda Manuscripts and he continued to hold the office till the middle of October 1928. During this period 11 works from Nos. 10 to 20 of the Sri Mulam Malayalam Series and the first ten numbers of the Sri Vanchi Setu Lakshmi Series were published. Many of these publications may be placed in the forefront in view of their merit and usefulness.

Collection of manuscripts. Another most important work attended to by this department is "Collection of Manuscripts". In our search for manuscripts the idea that is uppermost in our minds is to find out other copies of all precious works treasured up in the Palace Library, so as to enable their speedy collation and publication. Reference has already been made to the fact that this department itself was inaugurated with a view to publish ancient works preserved in the Palace Granthappura. Special attention is being devoted to discover rare, original and unpublished manuscripts that are found in some of the ancient families of this State. Tours are often undertaken by the Curator to collect these precious gems of Oriental Literature. Unlike the circuits made by the heads of other departments and officers of the State the Curator's tour is singular and as such deserves special mention. All other departments have many sub-offices through the length and breadth of the State and the services of the subordinate offices can be availed of with advantage. But the Curator proceeds on tour as the servant of the public, in view of the fact that only by their co-operation and kindness can the manuscripts be collected. Whereas the heads of departments proceed on tour as officers, the Curator has to do so as the humblest servant in that manuscripts can be taken from their custodians only as a favour. For a long time after the inception of this department,

collection of manuscripts was almost an impossible affair owing to the reluctance of the owners thereof to part with their palm-leaf treasure. You will be surprised to hear that though every owner was reluctant to lend these manu-cripts, only very few knew their worth and usefulness. There have been instances innumerable where owners of manuscripts have actually burnt them to ashes lest they should be made use of by any person on earth and where they were tied up into bundles and drifted into the rivers. In my recent tour to Shencottah, I had to witness the sorry spectacle of some loose leaves of manuscripts driven down by the current of the river I was bathing in. With a view to examine them, myself and my assistant collected as many as 20 leaves with great difficulty and risk. To our great delight and surprise these leaves turned out to be some portions of a precious commentary on the Sama Veda Bhashya. Now that the scope and utility of the department have been brought home to every manuscript lender, conditions have improved and the collection of manuscripts has been facilitated.

Advisory council. An Advisory Council consisting of four members was appointed in 1924, to examine and advise the order of publication of the various manuscripts keeping in view their usefulness and merit. The Council consisted of (1) the Curator (convener), (2) Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai B. A., B. L (3) Mr. K. Paramesvaran Pillai M. A., and (4) Mr. V. Krishnan Tampi B. A. With the amalgamation of the Sanskrit and Malayalam Curator's office from 17-8-1930, the Advisory Board was strengthened by the addition of M. R. Ry., Rao Sahib Ullur S. Paramesvara Aiyar Avl. M. A. B. L., and the Principal, Ayurveda College.

Retirement of Dr. Gaṇapathi śāstrigal. He was 48 years old when he entered this department, but the enthusiasm he showed in his work might do credit to a much younger person. The rule that officers should retire at 55 was set aside and as many as eleven extensions were granted to him by the Government, as they recognised that the department being a technical one makes the worker in it more and more fit for the work as years advance. In October 1925 at the ripe age of 66, he handed over charge of the office leaving his blessings to the department for which he devoted the best part of his life.

Present Curator. On 15-3-1926, the present Curator took charge of his office as Sanskrit Curator. Whereas only the first eighty-seven numbers of the Trivandrum

Sanskrit Series were published in Dr. Gaṇapathi Sastrial's time, now 113 works in all have been published. When Dr. Sankara Menon went on leave, the Government ordered in G. O. D. Dis. 1658/28/Genl., dated the 8th October 1928, the Sanskrit Curator to be in charge of the Malayalam publications also, and he continued to be so from 17-10-1928 to 16-8-1930. From 2-4-1929, the present Curator was put in supervising charge of the Sanskrit Schools in the State and he continues to be the Inspector of Sanskrit Schools of the State.

Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts. From 17-8-1930, to facilitate publication work, for the easy collection of manuscripts and better control, the offices of the Malayalam and Āyurveda Publications were amalgamated with the office of the Sanskrit Curator and a new department styled the department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts was created in Government Proceedings No. R. Dis. 651 of 30/mis dated the 15th August 1930, with the present Curator at its head. Besides the 113 Sanskrit works mentioned, 46 works in Malayalam and Ayurveda have been published by the department.

Commentary on the Nārāyaṇiyam. This is a work by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri of Melputtur. As per Government order No. R. O. C. 1735 of 28/G. B., dated the 11th February 1929, the present Curator prepared a commentary for this memorable work bringing out all its excellences and enlarging many of the ideas in it and began publishing the same. The first two volumes containing 1400 pages have been completed and in the third volume, proofs have been corrected for about 40 formes. Two more volumes will be necessitated to complete the work.

Commentary on Prakriyasarvasva. As this high class grammatical work of the same author had not a good commentary the Advisory Board asked the present Curator to prepare one in Sanskrit (vide resolution given below, passed at a meeting of the Board held on 13-3-1927), and this work is also in progress.

> " Resolved further that *Prakriyasarvasva* by Narayana Bhattatiri be taken up for publication with the commentary obtained from the Palace Library, the said commentary being incomplete, the present Curator Mr. K. Sambasiva Sastrial, may write a

commentary of his own from where it ends, in case he does not succeed to secure a complete copy of the said commentary from any of the private libraries.

Revision of prices. Though the quality of our publications would justify the prices fixed for them, Government in G. O. R. O. C. 2084/27/Edn., dated 2-5-1928, reduced the prices to facilitate the speedy sale and thus widen the circulation of the series. The publications are now priced at Re. 1 per hundred pages, thus bringing them within easy reach of the poorest scholor.

Reprinting. As there is a great demand from certain companies for the rare publications of this department and some of them are prescribed as text-books in schools and colleges outside Travancore, reprinting is necessitated by the stock running short. The Government have been addressed and they are considering the question sympathetically.

Central Manuscripts Library. Savants and scholars from British India and elsewhere are eagerly looking forward to the establishment of a Manuscripts Library which is now under consideration by the Government. The idea is to put for public use, the publications of this department, the rare and ancient manuscripts of the *Granthappura* and the different readings of the *Granthas* we have in our library and collected from elsewhere.

Visitors. Ever since this department was started and the publications begun, savants and scholars from British India and abroad continued to visit this office to learn at first hand, the working of our department and they have congratulated us on the excellence of our publications. Prominent among those who visited are :

1. O. C. Gangoli, Indian Oriental Arts Society, Calcutta (1915).
2. Dr. Meerwarth, Imperial Academy, Petrograd, Russia (1916).
3. Dr. F. W. Thomas, India Office Library London (1921).
4. Mr. Narendrakumar Majumdar, Lecturer, Calcutta University (1921).
5. Mr. W. Y. Evans Wentz, Stanford University, California, America (1921).

6. Dr. Rabindranatha Tagore, Shantiniketan, Calcutta (1923).
7. Dr. Morgenstein Ph. D., University of Kristiania (1924).
8. Dr. M. Winternitz M. A, Ph. D., University of Prague (1924).
9. Dr. Pranjpye M. A., Fergusson College, Poona, (1925).
10. Manoranjan Ghose M A, Calcutta University (1925).
11. Professor Franklin Edgerton, University of Yale, America (1926).
12. Devaraj Sastri, Raj Pandit, Jammu and Kashmir State (1926).
13. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon)., University of Madras (1928).
14. C. S. Ramaswami Sastrial B. A., B. L., Principal, Ramesvaram Devasthanam Sanskrit College, Madura (1928).
15. Rama Varma Appan Tampuran, Cochin, (1929).
16. M. R. Telang, Editor of Sanskrit works, Bombay (1929).
17. Brahmasri Kanippayyur Sankaran Namburippad (1929.)
18. Dr. Otto Stein Ph. D., University of Prague (1932).
19. Dr. Arnold A. Bake, University of Leiden (1932).
20. Dr. Ernst Waldschmidt, Curator for the Indian Section of the State Museum of Ethnography, Berlin (1933).

Relation between Sister Departments. This Department is in direct communication with the sister departments at Baroda, Mysore and Kashmir and the research departments of the various Universities and other Governments with regard to their nature and working. We have also been in the habit of exchanging publications, with these. Instances are not rare of our working system being felt useful and details asked for ; we have furnished information. This itself is proof positive of the importanee and usefulness of our working system.

Manuscript Libraries of Reference Since this department was first started to print the manuscripts in the Palace *Granthappura*, the manuscripts, transcripts and printed books etc., of the Palace Library form the chief source of manuscript reference to this department. Dr. Ganapati Sastrial was for a number of years in charge of the Palace Library. His Highness the Maharaja has been pleased to sanction permission to the present Curator also to examine these manuscripts. On my report that the *Granthas* in the *Granthappura* needed special classification, restoration, rebinding etc., Her Highness the Maharani Regent was pleased to put me without prejudice to my own duties, in charge of the work of compiling a new catalogue, transcripts of old copies, rebinding of works etc., with permission to employ fresh hands for the purpose if necessary. Accordingly a catalogue was prepared and submitted to the Palace in 1929 and the *Granthas* were transcribed and re-arranged. Thus it is a matter of importance that this department and the Palace *Granthappura* are indissolubly connected. Besides the Valia Kottaram Granthappura, about 315 libraries have been visited of which 298 are in Travancore, 11 in Cochin State and Malabar District and 6 in other parts of British India. In all 2852 *Granthas* have been collected. I would be failing in my duty if I do not make a special mention of the following libraries whose owners have been of special help to this department:—

1. Kesavar Kesavar, Kalpakamangalam, Manalikkara Matom, Padmanabhapuram.
2. The Library of Anantanarayana Sastrial, Vadivesvaram.
3. The Palace Library, Kilimanur.
4. The Library at the Ennakkattu Kottaram, Mavelikkara.
5. Devan Narayanan Namburi, Padinjare Pullam Vazhe Matom, Harippad.
6. Damodaran Paramesvaran Potti, Changarapalli Matom, Harippad.
7. Krishnan Mootatu, Padinjaredattillom, Vaikom.
8. Valyedattu Narayanan Narayanan Mootatu, Ettumanur.
9. Jayantan Bhaskaran Mootatu, Vattappalli Illom, Kumaranallur, Mannanam.

10. Suran Kandan Namburi, Udayamperur.
11. Thekkunkur Valia Tampuran, Nattasseri, Anmanam, Kottayam.
12. The Palace Library, Pandalam.
13. The Valia Raja's Library, Edappalli.
14. The Library at the Thazhmon Matom, Chengannur.
15. Subrahmanyan Mootatu, Puttiyal Illom, Harippad.
16. The Library of Sankaranarayana Pillai, Nalekattil Veedu, Mannar.
17. Vishnu Namburi, Ettikkada Illom, Ayankudi, Kaduthuruthi.
18. Narayanan Mitran Namburi, Chempakasseri Matom, Kudamalur.
19. Paramesvaran Narayanan Bhattatiri. Mulamana, Tiruvella.
20. Padmanabhan Narayanan Bhattatiri, Kuzhikattillom, Tiruvella.
21. C. Narayanan Bhattatiri, Paramburillom, Tiruvella.
22. The Library of Mahesvaran Bhattatiri, Kuzhikattu Illom, Tiruvella.
23. The Library of the Swamiyar Matom, Munchira.
24. Vayakkara Aryan Narayanan Moos, Kottayam.
25. Suryan Tuppan Bhattatiri, Kaladimana, Kottayam.
26. The Library at the Poonjattu Koikkal, Poonjar.
27. Harisvaran Padmanabhan Namburi, Nellipuzha, Kallampalli, Ettumanur.
28. Narayanan Narayanan Elayatu, Vembanattillom, Ambalapuzha.
29. Narayanan Paramesvaran Moos, Chirattamon Illom, Olessa, Kottayam.
30. The Library at the Vattappalli Matom, Suchindram.
31. K. M. P. Sankaran Namburippad, Kuttalakkattu Mana, Ankamali.
32. Kudallur Brahmadattan Namburipad, Nagalasseri, Pilakkatiri, Pattambi.

In return for their permission to use these libraries and for the help the owners render to this department, the Government have been pleased to sanction them complimentary copies of each of the publications of this department.

The printing of the publications of this Department has been executed in the Government Press under the orders of Government. The excellent finish as well as the accurate printing of these publications has evoked the appreciation and approbation of several scholars in and outside India. That happy result is due in no small measure to the genuine interest taken by the successive Superintendents in charge of the Press and the excellent staff under them. Mr. Nilakanta Pillai, the present Superintendent and his staff have been ever solicitous in meeting the requirements of this Department most cheerfully and I wish to express here my deep obligations to them for the hearty co-operation and assistance extended to this Department from time to time.

Before concluding, I have to acknowledge with gratefulness, the advice and guidance given by the members of the Advisory Board in arranging and carrying on the work of publication undertaken by the department.

Title and conclusion. The Sanskrit Publications were first styled as the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The Malayalam Publications that were begun in 1924 had the title Sri Mulam Malayalam Bhasha Granthavali, and during the reign of Her Highness the Maharani Regent, the Sastraic (scientific) works among these came to be known as Sri Vanchi Setu Lekshmi Granthavali. In the same way, the special name Setu Lakshmi Prasada Mala came to be given to such of the Sanskrit Publications that were made during the regency period. Now from the date of the installation of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Chithira Tirunal as the Ruler of the State, in memory of the event, all the publications of this department, Sanskrit and Malayalam, are styled as Sri Citrodaya Manjari Series. His Highness has been graciously pleased to permit us to do so. We cannot be too grateful to the Sovereign for the patronage His Highness has extended to us. It only remains for me now to pray to Lord Almighty to give long life, happiness and prosperity to His Highness Sri Chithira Tirunal Maharaja of

K. SAMBASIVA SASTRI,
Curator.

Statement showing the names of the works Published during the time of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. T Ganapathi Sastrial (1903—1925).

Serial No.	T. S. S. No.	Name of work	Name of author or commentator	Year of publication
		VEDANTA		
1	7	Brahmatattvaprakasika	Sadasivendrasarasvati	1909
2	9	Virupaksapancasika	Text. Virupaksanatha, Com. Vidyacakravartin	1910
3	12	Paramarthasara	Text. Adisesha, Com. Raghavananda	1911
4	41	Adhyatmapatalam	Text. Apastamba Com. Sankarácharya	1915
5	47	Siddhantasiddhanjana Part I	Krsnanandasarasvati	1916
6	48	Do. Para II	Do.	Do.
7	53	Sabdanirnaya	Prakasatmayatindra	1917
8	58	Siddhantasiddhanjana Part III	Krsnanandasarasvati	Do.
9	61	Part IV	Do	1918
10	73	Isvarapratipattiprakasa	Madhusudanasarasvati	1923
		MIMAMSA		
11	19	Manameyodaya	Narayana Bhatta & Narayana Pandita	1912
		SRAUTA, GRHYA, AGAMA, and DARSANA		
12	62	Sarvamatasangraha	...	1918
13	66	Maharthamanjari	Com. Mahesvarananda	1919
14	68	Tattvaprakasa	Text. Bhojadeva Com. Srikumara	1920
15	78	Asvalayanagrhysutra	Com. Haradattacarya	1923

Serial No	T. S. S. No.	Name of work	Name of author or commentator	Year of publication
		JYOTISHA		
16	49	Goladipika	Paramesvara	1916
		VYAKARANA		
17	1	Daiva	Text. Deva, Com Krsnalilasukamuni.	1905
18	6	Durghatavrtti	Saranadeva	1909
19	33	Vararucasangraha	Com. Narayana	1913
20	46	Paribhasavrtti	Nilakantha Diksita	1915
21	54	Sphotasiddhinyayavicara	...	1917
		NYAYA		
22	25	Kanadasiddhantacandrika	Gangadharasuri	1913
23	34	Manidarpana	Rajacudamanimakhi	Do.
24	35	Manisara	Gopinatha	1914
		BUDDHIST RELIGION		
25	70	Aryamanjusrimulakalpa Part I	...	1920
26	76	Do. Part II	...	1922
27	84	Do. Part III	...	1925
		ALANKARA		
28	5	Vyaktiviveka	Mahima Bhatta	1909
29	40	Alankarasutra	Rajanaka Ruyyaka	1915
30	50	Rasarnavasudhakara	Singabhupala	1916
		SMRTI		
		Vaikhanasadharmaprasna	Vikhanas	1913
		Asāucastāka	Vararuci	1914
		Yajnavalkyasmrti Part I	Com. Visvarupacar.	1922
		Do. Part II	Do. Do.	1924

Serial No.	T. S. S. No.	Name of work		Name of author or commentator	Year of publication.
		NITI			
35	14	Nitisara		Text. Kamandāka, Com. Sankararya	1912
36	79	Arthasastra	Part I	Text. Kautalya Com. Dr. T Ganapathi Sastrial	1924
37	80	Do.	Part II	Text. Kautalya Com. Dr. T. Ganapathi Sastrial	Do.
38	82	Do.	Part III	Do.	1925
		TANTRA			
39	44	Tantrasuddha		Bhattaraka Vedottama	1915
40	45	Prapancahrdaya			Do.
41	67	Tantrasamuccaya	Part I	Text. Narayana Com Sankara	1919
42	71	Do.	Part II	Do.	1921
43	69	Isanasivagurudevapaddhati	Part I	Isanasivagurudevamisra	1920
44	72	Do.	Part II	Do.	1921
45	77	Do.	Part III	Do.	1922
46	83	Do.	Part IV	Do.	1925
47	85	Visnusamhita			Do.
		SILPA			
48	30	Vastuvidya			1913
49	56	Manusyalayacandrika			1917
50	65	Mayamata		Mayamuni	1919
51	75	Silparatna	Part I	Srikumara	1922
		KOSA			
52	23	Nanartharnavasamksepa	Part I	Kesavasvamin	1913
53	29	Do	Part II	Do.	Do.
54	31	Do	Part III	Do.	Do.

Serial No.	T. S. S. No.	Name of work	Name of author or commentator	Year of publication
55	38	Namalinganusasana Part I	Text. Amarasimha Com. Sarvananda	1914
56	43	Do. Part II	Text. Amarasimha Bom. Ksirasvami & Sarvananda	1915
57	51	Do. Part III	Do.	1917
58	52	Do. Part IV	Text. Amarasimha Com. Sarvananda	Do.
		BHARATA		
59	87	Sangitasamayasara	Sangitakara Parsvadeva	1925
		KAVYA		
60	3	Nalabhyudaya	Vamana Bhatta Bana	1907
61	4	Sivalilarnava	Nilakantha Diksita	1909
62	24	Janakiparinaya	Cakrakavi	1913
63	27	Kumarasambhava Part I	Text. Kalidasa Com. Arunagirinatha & Narayana	Do.
64	32	Do. Part II	Do.	Do.
65	36	Do Part III	Do	1914
66	57	Raghuviracarita		1917
67	63	Kiratarjuniyam	Text. Bharavi Com. Citrabhanu	1918
68	64	Meghasandesa	Text. Kalidasa Com. Daksinavartanatha	1919
69	86	Bharatacarita	Krsnakavi	1925
		STUTI		
70	2	Abhinavakaustubhamala & Daksinamurtistava	Krsnalilasukamuni	1905
71	18	Narayaniya	Text. Narayana Bhatta Com. Desamangalavarya	
72	60	Laghustuti	Text. Laghubhattaraka, Com. Raghavananda	

Serial No.	T. S. S. No.	Name of work	Name of author or commentator	Year of publication.
		NATAKA		
73	8	Pradyumnadhyudaya	Ravi Varma Bhupa	1910
74	11	Tapatisamvarana	Text. Kulasekhara-varma, com. Siva-rama.	1911
75	13	Subhadradhananjaya	Do.	1912
76	15	Svapnavasavadatta	Bhasa	1915
77	16	Pratijnayaugandharaya-na	Do.	1912
78	17	Pancaratra	Do.	Do.
79	20	Avimaraka	Do.	Do.
80	21	Balacarita	Do.	Do.
81	22	Madhyamavyayogadi	Do.	Do.
82	26	Abhisekanataka	Do.	1913
83	39	Carudatta	Do.	1914
84	42	Pratimanataka	Do.	1915
85	55	Mattavilasaprahasana	Mahendravikrama-varma	1917
86	59	Nagananda	Text. Harshadeva Com. Sivarama.	Do.
		HASTYAYURVEDA		
87	10	Matangalila	Nilakantha	1910

Statement showing the names of the Sanskrit works
Published by Mr. K. Samba-siva Sastrial
from 1926 onwards

Serial No.	T. S. No.	S.Name of work.	Name of author or commentator.	Year of publication.
		VEDA		
1	96	Rksamhita Part I	Com. Skandasvami & Venkatamadhava	1928
		VEDANTA		
2	93	Vedantaparibhasa	Text. Dharmarajadhvarindra. Com. Pedda Diksita.	1828
3	103	Hamsasandesa		1930
		MIMAMSA		
4	90	Mimamsaslokavartika Part I	Com. Sucaritamisra	1926
5	99	Do. Part II	Do	1929
		NYAYA		
6	109	Nyayasára	Com. Vasudevasuri	1931
		VYAKARANA		
7	89	Sphotasiddhi	Bharatamisra	1927
8	106	Prakriyasarvasva	Narayana Bhatta	1931
		ALANKARA		
9	88	Kavyaprakasa Part I	Text Mammata Bhatta Com. Vidyacakravarti & Bhattagopala.	1926
10	100	Do. Part II	Do	1930
		JYOTISHA		
11	91	Horasastra	Text. Varahamihira Com. Rudra	

Serial No.	T.S.S. No.	Name of work.	Name of author or commentator	Yeaı of publi-cation.
12	95	Ranadipika	Kumara Ganaka.	1928
13	101	Aryabhatiya Part I	Text. Aryabhata-carya Com. Nila-kanthasomasutvan	1930
14	110	Do. Part II	Do.	1931
		SILPA		
15	98	Silparatna Part II	Sri Kumara	1929
		BHARATA		
16	94	Brhaddesi	Matangamuni	1928
17	102	Dattila	Dattilamuni	1930
18	112	Upakbyanadvayam	H. H. Svati Tirunal Maharaja	1933
19	113	Sangitakrtis	Do. Do. Do.	Do.
		VAIDYA		
20	92	Rasopanisat	...	1928
21	111	Hrdayapriya	Paramesvara	1931
		SMRTI		
22	97	Naradiyamanusamhita	Com. Bhavasvami	1929
		KAVYA		
23	107	Kavyaratna	Arhaddasa	1931
		NATAKA		
24	108	Balamartandavijaya	Devaraja	1930
		STUTI		
25	104	Sambapancasika		1930
		MISCELLANEOUS		
	105	Nidhipradipa	Siddha Srikantha Sambhu.	1930

Statement showing the names of the works published by Mr. K. Sambasiva Sastrial from 1928, onwords.

Serial No.	Number in the S. M. M. S. *S. V. S. L. S. †S. C. M. S.	Name of work	Name of author	Year of public-action.
		VEDANTA		
1	22	Tattvamasivyakhyana & Mahavakyakkattila	...	1929
2	23	Brahmanandaviveka-samudram	...	1929
		PURANA		
3	24	Kannassabharatam (Part I)	Kannasa Panikkar	1930
4	†1	Kannassabhagavatam	Do. Do.	1932
		CAMPU		
5	25	Randubhasacampukkal	Punam Namburi	1930
		HISTORY		
6	*18	Keralacaritam	...	1931
		KATHAKALI		
7	†2	Rasakrida	Narayana	1932
		GITA		
8	21	Visnugita	...	1929
		VAIDYA		
		Astangasara	...	1931
		Yogamrtam	...	1931
		JYOTISHA		
		Prasnasara	Madhava Dvija	1929

Serial No.	Numbet in the S. M. M. S. 'S. V. S. L. S. †S. C. M. S.	Name of the work	Name of author	Year of public-ation
12	'13	Balasankaram (Part II)	Balasankara Namburi	1930
13	'15	Do. (Part III)	...	1931
		STUTI		
14	'14	Narayaniya (Part I).	Com. K. Sambsaiva Sastrial	1931
15	*17	Do. (Part II)	...	1931
		NITI		
16	'12	Kantaliyam Bhasa (Part I)	...	1930

Statements showing the names of the Malayalam works published during the time of Kavitilakan Ullur S. Paramesvara Aiyar Avl. from 1921—1925

Serial No.	S. M. M. S. No.	Name of work	Name of author or commentator
		PATTU	
1	I	Gurudaksinappattu	
2	2	Sat mukharamayanam (Kilippattu)	Ezhuttacchan
3	3	Bhadrolpatti	Do.
4	4	Parvatiparinayam	Do.
5	5	Patappattu	Do.
6	7	Prahladacaritam (Hamsappattu)	
		CAMPU	
7	6	Kalyanasaugandhikam	
		GITAGRANTHA	
8	8	Girijakulyana	Unnayi Variyar
		SMRTI	
9	9	Vyavaharamala	

Statement showing the names of the works published during the time of Dr. Kolatheri Sankara Menon.
1925 — 1928.

Serial No	Number in S. M. M. S. S. V. S. L. S.	Name of work	Name of author	Year of publication.
		JYOTISHA		
1	2	Jatakapaddhati	Vatasrenibhu-[deva	1926
2	3	Bhasajatakapaddhati	Kochukrishnan [Asan	Do-
3	4	Prasnabhasa	...	Do.
4	5	Muhurtapadavi	...	Do.
5	6	Balasankaram (Purva [bhaga).	Balasankaran Namburi	1927
6	7	Aryabhatiyam (Gitika-[pada	Aryabhata-carya	Do.
		VAIDYA		
7	*1	Vaidyamanjari	Sankaranara-[yana	1926
8	8	Rasavaisesikam	(Sanskrit)	1928
9	*9	Jyotsnika	Narayana	Do.
10	*10	Tantraynktivicara	(Sanskrit)	Do.
		CAMPU		
11	15	Bhasaramayanacampu [Part I	...	1926
12	19	Do. [Part II.	...	1928
13	20	Do. [Part III.	...	Do.
		PURANA		
14	10	Srimadbhagavatam Bhasa Part I	...	1925
15	14	Do. Part II	...	1926
		TANTRA		
16	17	Praisham	...	1927
		KAVYA		
17	16	Paravatipanigrahanam	Sankaran Namburi	1926

Serial No.	Number in S. M. M. S. S. V. S. L. S.	Name of work	Name of author	Year of publication.
		PATTU		
18	13	Moksadayakam (Kilippattu)	Kottayattu Tampuran	1926
19	18	Bhismopadesam (Hamsappattu)	...	1927
		GITA		
20	11	Krishnalila	...	1925
		STUTI		
21	12	Vimsati	...	1925

LETTERS OF APPRECIATION.

It is appropriate that India and the western world should owe to Travancore the invaluable contribution to the knowledge of Sanskrit Literature represented by the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, for Travancore has long been well known as deeply imbued with the classical traditions of Hinduism. Under modern conditions, with their imposition of a materialistic outlook even in India itself, the study of Sanskrit has fallen upon evil days, and there is danger lest Hindus should lose sight of the necessity of maintaining an effective interest in their great spiritual and intellectual heritage, the many-sided Sanskrit Literature. It has, therefore, been a matter of the highest importance that the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore has fostered most generously the study of Sanskrit in many ways, and not least by financing the publication of the Trivandrum Series. There has thus been rendered available to scholars an unexpected wealth of literature extending from the Vedic period to modern times and illustrating every side of the multifarious activities of Hindu Pandits and Kavis. The many discussions which have been elicited in east and west alike by certain of these publications sufficiently attest their fundamental importance, and there has been a consensus of critics to accord unstinted praise to the late Curator, T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, and to his successor, K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī, for the skill and competence of their work as editors and for their admirable selection of texts to publish. It is earnestly to be hoped that this important work will continue to receive the patronage of the Government of the State, to whose reputation for enlightened patronage of learning it has so largely contributed.

A. Berriedale Keith,
Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philosophy.

University of Edinburgh,
23rd September 1933.

I Rue Guy De La Brosse
Paris(Ve?)

२९-११-३३.

श्रीसाम्बाशिवाख्य पण्डितश्रेष्ठ !

यः पूर्वो लेखो भवता प्रेषितः, स प्रवासार्थं प्रस्थिते मयि स्वगृहमागतः। तस्मात् प्रत्युत्तरस्य विलम्बनं कृतम् । इदानीं तु द्वितीयो लेखो लभ्यते। तत्रापि च पुनः प्रार्थना क्रियते अनन्तशयनग्रन्थावल्या रजतजूबिलिमहोत्सवो नचिराद् भविष्यति, भवतां सन्निधानम् इष्यते । भवदागमनस्य काले ज्ञाते तदुत्सवस्य कालनियमः कर्तुं शक्यते इति। अनन्तशयनराज्यं तु फ्रान्स्देशाद् अतिदूरं, यात्रायाश्च व्ययो गरीयान्। मम च पण्डितलेशस्य याभीष्टा देवी, सा सरस्वत्येव। ननु भवतापि तच्छ्रुतम् । लक्ष्मीदेवी सरस्वतीदेव्याः सहवासं न जुषते। यद्यपि तत् सर्वत्र सत्यं, भवतां तु स्वदेशेऽन्यथा स्यादिति मन्ये । या हि संस्कृतग्रन्थावलिः पण्डितवरैः प्रकाश्यते, सा श्रीलक्ष्मीप्रसादमालेति कीर्त्यते । लक्ष्मीसकाशाद् भवान् वरं लब्धुमर्हति। भक्तैर्हि लक्ष्मीर् अष्टोत्तरशतनामभिः पूज्यते । भवदीया तु लक्ष्मीप्रसादमाला दशोत्तरशतसङ्ख्यां प्राप्ता। एवञ्च न केवलं देवी प्रसन्ना, सर्वेऽपि विद्वांसः प्रसादकूटमारोपिताः । ये ये हि ग्रन्थास्तन्मालायां प्रकाशिताः, तेषु तेषु सहृदया रससारम् आस्वादयन्ति। एकं तु मनसि कण्टकम् । मुद्रणं गच्छतां गमिष्यतां वा ग्रन्थानां प्रकाशनं कदा भविष्यति। पिपठिषवो हि वयम् । जीवितशेषश्च कियान् भविष्यतीति न ज्ञायते ।

महोत्सवदिने वर्तमाने

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य लक्ष्मीं चैव नरप्रियाम् ।
सरस्वतीं चैव देवीं

ततो गणपतिशास्त्रिनामोदीर्यताम् । स हि यशःशेषोऽपि न विस्मरणीयः। तेनैव मार्गः प्रथमं दर्शित आज्ञातश्च। तेनैवानन्तशयनराज्यकीर्तिर्दिक्षु विदिक्षु विस्तीर्णा ॥

शुभं भूयात्। मङ्गलं भूयात्।

भवदीयः
Sylvain Levi.

I am most happy to express in this public way the high value which I set upon the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. All Sanskrit scholars regard it as one of the most important and useful series of Sanskrit texts in existence In a comparatively short time it has established itself as fully the equal of any other similar series, although several of its rivals have been in existence much longer. In it have been published a considerable number of previously unknown works some of which are of the very first rank in importance (such as the plays attributed to Bhāsa). But those of its volumes which contain texts previously printed are also uniformly useful and valuable for various reasons. For example, Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī's edition of the Kautilīya Arthaśāstra, with commentary, is decidedly the best edition of that all-important work in existence ; the printed text is superior, from the critical scholarly standpoint, to other editions, and the commentary is of primary and very great importance for the interpretation of the very difficult text. So, to mention another example, the edition of the 'Meghasandeśa' (more familiarly known as Meghadūta) of Kālidāsa has great importance for scholars, despite the large number of other editions of the poem, because it contains an otherwise unknown and important commentary. These are only examples which might be multiplied many times. I shall take the liberty of mentioning one other new and original work, the Mātaṅgalīlā, a treatise on elephantology, which interested me so much that I translated it into English with an introduction and glossary; this has led for the first time to a proper recognition of the importance, antiquity, and persistence of elephant-lore among the Hindus.

It should be emphasized that the works contained in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are not only intrinsically important, but are presented to the scholarly world in a competent and useful manner. The editing is uniformly good ; the typography is excellent. Misprints are commendably rare. These features are by no means always found in books printed in India, and they increase the gratitude of scholars to the able editors of the Series.

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I have much pleasure in stating that ever since its inception the Trivandrum Series has been publishing many rare and important works. It would not be an exaggeration to say that nearly every work published in the Series bears testimony to the wisdom of the choice made by the Editor of the Series. In addition to this, the care and industry with which the Series has been edited have all along been commendable. It is hoped that the Series will continue to do the very useful work that it has been doing and continue to supply the world of scholars with material for work. There is a large number of very important works still awaiting discovery and publication; and we are looking for this, to the South where manuscript libraries have not suffered the fate that they have in the North. May the Series continue to have the support of the State and also of the Bestower of all Good, the Lord Eternal, is the fervent prayer of

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA
GANGANATH JHA M. A., D. LITT.,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad.

॥ श्रीः ॥

अभिनन्दनपत्रिका

जयति जयति विद्याशेवधिर्वञ्चिभूमि-
र्जयति जयति चित्रो रामवर्मा नृपेन्दुः ।
जयति जयति सेयं संस्कृतग्रन्थमाला
जयति जयति सर्वं यत्र तद्भारतं नः ॥ १ ॥

आहारादिचतुष्टयं किल समं नृणां पशूनामपि
प्राशस्त्यं पशुतो नृणां वितनुते ह्येको विवेकोदयः ।
तस्मिन्नौपयिकत्वमेत्यविकलं सद्ग्रन्थसंशीलने-
त्यालोच्य प्रबबन्धुरुज्ज्वलधियः सन्तः प्रबन्धान् बहून् ॥ २ ॥

गुरुमुखपठनादिमक्रमेण
प्रववृतिरे परितोऽपि ते प्रबन्धाः ।
अपितु भवनकोणमाश्रितास्ते
न खलु ययुर्निखिलोपकारकाष्ठाम् ॥ ३ ॥

तालपत्रलिखितानिमान् क्वचिद्
रक्षितान् क्वचिदुपेक्षितानपि ।
द्रष्टुमप्यहह नान्वमंसत
ग्रन्थकारकुलजा अपीतरान् ॥ ४ ॥

एनं क्लेशमपोहितुं कृतधियः केचित् स्वकीयैर्धनै-
रन्ये सङ्घसमादरेण बहुधा ग्रन्थानमुद्रापयन् ।
मैसूरादिममण्डलाधिपतयोऽप्युत्साहयाञ्चक्रिरे
सद्ग्रन्थावलिमुद्रणाय विषये स्वीये महापण्डितान् ॥ ५ ॥

सत्कार्यैकसमुत्सुकः प्रतिदिनं स्मर्तव्यनामा महान्
मूलो वञ्चिमहीश्वरो गुणनिधिः श्रीरामवर्मा सुधीः ।
राज्ये स्वेऽपि चिरेण रक्षितमहाग्रन्थप्रकाशोचितां
शाखां काञ्चिदतिष्ठिपन्ननु भवेल्लोकोपकारो यया ॥

विद्यावित्तविनीतचित्तविबुधश्रेणीशिरोलङ्कृतिः
सारासारविवेककर्मचतुरोदञ्चत्कुशाग्रीयधीः ।
राजादेशवशंवदो गणपतिः शास्त्री समन्तादपि
ग्रन्थान् संपरिगृह्य साधु विमृशंस्तन्मुद्रणे व्यापृतः ॥ ७ ॥

तर्के व्याकरणेऽथ तन्त्रयुगलेऽलङ्कारसाहित्ययोः
सङ्गीतस्मृतिगृह्यनीतिषु तथा शिल्पागमज्यौतिषे ।
कल्पे मन्त्रचिकित्सयोरपि बहूनन्येषु शास्त्रेष्वपि
श्रेष्ठान् मुद्रणकर्मणा बहिरसौ ग्रन्थानवातीतरत् ॥ ८ ॥

विद्यास्थानविभेदो
नास्ति स यस्यैककोऽपि सद्ग्रन्थः ।
आसीदनन्तशयन-
ग्रन्थावल्यामसुद्रितोऽनेन ॥ ९ ॥

पाठान्तराणि तत्त-
त्स्थलेष्वदर्शिषत शास्त्रिणानेन ।
व्याख्या व्यधायि नव्या
कुत्रचिदन्यत्र टिप्पणी व्यरचि ॥ १० ॥

प्रसन्नगम्भीरमनोरमाकृतिः
पदेन चार्थेन च सर्वतः सता ।
प्रबन्धकालादिविमर्शमेदुरा
विभाति सर्वत्र विशिष्य भूमिका ॥ ११ ॥

इदमवधि तस्थिवांसि
श्रुतिमात्रेणैव भासरूपकाणि ।
प्रकटय्य रूपकाणि
प्राज्ञसमाराधनं व्यधादेषः ॥ १२ ॥

भासो नाम महाकविः कवयिता नैषामिति प्रत्यव-
स्थानं केचन कुर्वते कतिपये तत्संग्रहान्मन्वते ।
आस्तामेतदिदं तु सत्फलमितः प्राचीनवागर्थशै-
ल्येवं खल्विति निर्णयन् सहृदयो धत्ते स्वचित्ते मुदम् ॥ १३ ॥

व्युत्पित्सुर्व्युत्पन्नो
विमर्शनिपुणोऽपि मुद्रितैरेतैः ।
परिशीलितैः प्रबन्धै-
रनुदिनमुत्तेजयन्ति निजधिषणाम् ॥ १४ ॥

लोकोपकारक्षममात्मनीनं
सद्ग्रन्थमुद्रापणमास्थिताय ।
समानमस्मै बिरुदं महार्घ-
मदान्मुदा भारतचक्रवर्ती ॥ १५ ॥

निसर्गशत्रुर्निखिलस्य शर्मणः
कृपाविदूरः कृपणो हतो विधिः ।
अनेष्ट भूमेरपरं परं पदं
बुधेषु शोचत्स्वमुमार्यपण्डितम् ॥ १६ ॥

अनन्तरं तत्करुणाकटाक्षतः
समस्ततन्त्रेष्वपि लब्धकौशलः ।
सुधीमणिः साम्बशिवाभिधः पदं
तदङ्ग्यकार्षीन्नृपतेर्निदेशतः ॥ १७ ॥

श्रीमद्गणपतिकलितां
श्रीसाम्बशिवोऽनुसृत्य पदवीं ताम् ।
अद्यावधि सद्ग्रन्थान्
विमृश्य संशोध्य मुद्रयन्नास्ते ॥ १८ ॥

श्रीमूलरामवर्म-
ण्यस्तमिते वञ्चिराज्यभरणधुराम् ।
श्रीसेतुलक्ष्म्यभिख्या-
विख्याता निरवहन्महाराज्ञी ॥ १९ ॥

आतश्च सेतुलक्ष्मी-
प्रसादमालेति नूतनाप्याख्या ।
आसीदनन्तशयन-
ग्रन्थावल्याश्चिराय विलसन्त्याः ॥ २० ॥

पाण्डित्यं परितः प्रशस्यमतुलः सद्ग्रन्थमुद्रोद्यमो
मान्या तद्विषयावमर्शसरणेः सूक्ष्मेक्षिका सुन्दरी ।
गम्भीरा मृदुला पचेलिमतमा वाग्गुम्फनप्रक्रिया
श्रीमत्साम्बशिवाभिधानविबुधोत्तंसे समुद्द्योतते ॥ २१ ॥

अत एव सूरिमणिनामुना कृत-
प्रसरे प्रबन्धनिकरे सुमुद्रिते ।
परितश्चकास्ति परमानवद्यता
तनुयादसूयुरपि येन तन्नुतिम् ॥ २२ ॥

प्रक्रान्ता च चिरादनन्तशयनग्रन्थावलीमुद्रणा
श्रीमद्वञ्चिमहीमहेन्द्रकरुणानिर्विघ्ननिर्वर्तिता ।
अद्यत्वे खलु पञ्चविंशतितमं सम्पूर्य नैजं वयः
षड्विंशे पदमादधाति तदिमे हृष्याम सर्वे वयम् ॥ २३ ॥

पञ्चविंशवयसः परिपूर्ते-
रुत्सवोऽयमधुना वरिवर्ति ।
अत्र हेतुरधिवञ्च्युपसीद-
त्पद्मनाभकरुणापरिणाहः (परिणामः) ॥ २४ ॥

धर्मशर्मकुलशेखरवंश्यो
रामवर्मनृपतिर्ननु चित्रः ।
सप्रसादमिससुत्सवमाज्ञा-
वृत्तिभिः प्रकृतिभिः परिपुष्यात् ॥ २५ ॥

जगदुपकृतिक्षमाणां
सद्ग्रन्थानां प्रकाशने हेतुः ।
भूयादनन्तशयन-
ग्रन्थावलिरुत्तरोत्तरं पुष्टा ॥ २६ ॥

एवं सततसमुद्यम-
मतिमहदैश्वर्यमायुरारोग्यम् ।
मतिविभवं च विशालं
श्रीसाम्बशिवाय माधवो देयात् ॥ २७ ॥

कुरुतां कुशलानि कञ्जनाभः
कुलदैवं कुलशेखरक्षितीशाम् ।
कुलशेखरचित्ररामवर्म-
क्षितिपालस्य कुटुम्बकेन सार्धम् ॥ २८ ॥

विजयतां विसरश्च विपश्चितां
विजयतामवमर्शनधोरणी ।
विजयतां कुलशेखरभूपति-
र्विजयतामधिराडधिभारतम् ॥ २९ ॥

सत्प्रबन्धसमुदायमुद्रणा-
पञ्चविंशतितमाब्दपूरणे ।
उत्सवं तमभिनन्दितुं व्यधात
कृष्णसूरिरिति पद्यविस्तरम् ॥ ३० ॥

Kumbakonam.

R. V. Krishnamachariar,
Mahamahopadhyaya,
Abhinava Bhatta Bana.

श्रीमन्मूलर्क्षजन्मा रमणघनदयापाङ्गधारावसेका-
ज्जाताङ्कूरा सुवर्णोज्ज्वलनवमहितग्रन्थजातप्रसूना ।
विज्ञानश्रीमरन्दैर्विबुधमधुलिहामाहरन्ती मनोऽसौ
ग्रन्थालीकल्पवल्ली जयति जननुता वह्निभूस्वर्गमध्ये ॥ १ ॥
विज्ञानाम्भोधिमध्याद् विबुधपरिवृढैरुद्धृतातिप्रयत्नात्
कीटानां भुक्तयेऽकल्पत सुचिरमनर्घा च या दग्धदैवात् ।
विज्ञानां स्वप्रकाशैर्विबुधमतिकषोल्लेखलब्धप्रशस्तिः
कण्ठान् विद्योतयन्ती जगति जयतु सा ग्रन्थरत्नावलीयम् ॥ २ ॥
नानादुष्प्रापशास्त्राद्यनवधिकुसुमैर्गुम्भिता हृद्यवर्णै-
रम्लाना ग्रन्थमाला प्रमदयति मनोऽस्माकमेषा प्रकामम् ।
को वा कर्तुं न कण्ठे स्पृहयति महितां यां नवामोददात्रीं
यस्यां जागर्ति सारस्वतमधुलहरी प्राज्ञपुष्पन्धयानाम् ॥ ३ ॥
गणपतिकविलालनप्रकर्षैः
प्रथममियं प्रथितैव भूतधात्र्याम् ।
अथ हरति मनो न कस्य साध्वी
बुधनुतसाम्बशिवाङ्कमावसन्ती ॥ ४ ॥
श्रीपद्मनाभकरुणामृतदृष्टिपाताद्
आमोदयन्त्यपि दुरापसुमैरियं नः ।
श्रीवह्निनायकदृगञ्चलभृङ्गसङ्गाद्
विज्ञानदिव्यलतिका लसतादजस्रम् ॥ ५ ॥
विज्ञानभिक्षामनिशं ददाना
प्रज्ञामियं नः परिनर्तयन्ती ।
शिवा शिवाश्लेषविशेषहृद्या
शिवाय जीयाच्छरदां सहस्रम् ॥ ६ ॥

THE TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES.

By Professor M. Winternitz (Prague, Czechoslovakia)

The Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum, has done excellent work in publishing the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, for which every Sanskrit scholar in India and in the West must ever feel thankful. Since, in 1905, the first number of the Series was published, no less than 111 volumes have appeared up to 1931. Many rare texts, formerly unknown, were edited here for the first time, and many old and well-known texts appeared in valuable new editions. The Mahāmahopādhyāya *T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī*, whose name will always be remembered as the discoverer of the so-called "Bhāsa plays", and as the author of an extensive commentary on the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, signed as the Editor of the first 87 volumes. Number 88 was edited by the Head Pandit of the Department *R. Harihara Śāstrī* who had worked with the Mahāmahopādhyāya. In 1927 Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstri found a worthy successor as Curator of the Department in *K. Sambaśiva Śāstrī*, who has since edited 23 new numbers of the Series to which he has given the special title Śrī Setu Lakṣmī Prasādamālā.

It was quite a sensation, when in 1910 the late *Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī* discovered eleven plays (two more followed soon after) which he declared to be the dramatic works of Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidasa. A whole literature has sprung up around these plays, and the controversy about the authorship cannot be said to be ended yet. The majority of Sanskrit Scholars are now of opinion that all the thirteen dramas are not the original works of Bhāsa, though some of them may be recasts of dramas composed by Bhāsa. This is not the place to discuss the arguments *pro and con* in detail. But whatever the final conclusion may be to which we shall have to come, on the whole, I still adhere to the words I spoke in my lecture on Bhāsa in 1923* : " If it should finally be proved, that Bhāsa cannot be the author of these plays, they will yet always have to be counted among the most valuable treasures of Indian literature, and we

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*Readership Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on 16th September 1923 (Some Problems of Indian Literature. Calcutta University Press 1925. p. 130).

should-even in this case havee–very reason to be thankful to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī, who has unearthed these treasures for us."

I had a good many letters from the late Gaṇapati Śāstrī, one more enthusiastic than the other, when he discovered these plays one after the other. It was the genuine discoverer's joy with which he always defended the authorship of Bhāsa for all these plays.

It was a great pleasure to me when early in November 1923, on my visit to Trivandrum, I could discuss the subject with the great Pandit. I well remember the stately figure of the Brahman who received me in his beautiful red robe, speaking Sanskrit clearly and distinctly so that it was not difficult for an European unused to speaking Sanskrit to understand him. He was also very enthusiastic about the new Manuscripts of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra he had found, and he proudly pointed out to me many improvements of his text on the *editio princeps*, and showed me the proofs of his own great commentary. The latter was printed in Nos. 79, 80 and 82, and forms one of the gems of the whole series. He had found not only new Manuscripts of the text, but also considerable fragments of the ancient commentaries of Bhaṭṭasvāmin and Mādhavayajvan. But as these fragments proved insufficient for an edition of the commentaries, Gaṇapati Śāstrī set to work to write a commentary of his own, making use of the ancient commentaries as far as they were available. Everybody is now convinced of the great importance, if not of the great age, of the Arthaśāstra both for the social history of ancient India, and for the history of Indian literature. But anybody who has had occasion to study the Kauṭilīya, knows that the work is full of difficulties, with which translators and interpreters of the work have hitherto struggled in vain. Hence Gaṇapati's Śrīmūla, as he has called his commentary, is an indispensable help for every student of the Arthaśāstra.

There are few branches of Sanskrit literature which are not represented in the 111 volumes of the Series. Only a few of the most valuable texts may be mentioned here.

To begin with the *Veda*, No. 78 brings a new edition of the Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra with the commentary of Haradattācārya, and in No. 96 the present Curator of the Department, K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī, starts a new edition of the Ṛksaṁhita (Saṁhitā and Pada texts) with the Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin and the commentary of Veṅkaṭamādhavārya.

Of *Kāvyas* I may mention Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava with the two commentaries of Aruṇagirinātha and of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita (Nos. 27, 32, 36), and the famous Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi with a commentary by Citrabhānu (No. 63.) Kālidāsa's Meghasandēśa is published with a commentary by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha who is older than Mallinātha, in No. 64. An interesting Sandēśakāvya is the Hamsasandeśa, by an unknown author, which though an imitation of Kālidāsa's immortal poem, is more a devotional Saiva poem (No. 103). Devotional poetry is also represented by the Nārāyaṇīya of Nārāyaṇabhatta (No. 18) of the 16th century A. D., in which the whole story of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is summarized, and which in the Kerala country is regarded as a sacred book of devotion as much as the Bhāgavata.

As to the *drama*, we have already referred to the "Bhāsa plays". Of importance for the history of the Sankrit drama are also the Mattavilāsaprahasana (No. 55), the oldest Prahasana that has come down to us, as its author is Mahendravikramavarman who flourished at the beginning of the 7th century A. D. the two dramas Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa and Subhadrādhanañjaya (Nos. 11 and 13) of the royal poet Kulaśekharavarman of Kerala, and the Pradyumnābhyudaya (No. 8) of another King of Kerala, Ravivarman.

Great is the number of *philosophical texts* in the Series. Of Pūrvāmīmāṁsā works may be mentioned the Mānameyodaya (No. 19), and the Mīmāṁsāślokavārtika with the Kāśika (Nos. 90 and 99) ; of Vedānta texts, the Siddhāntasiddhāñjana by Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī (Nos. 47,48,58,61). A short treatise on the Kashmirian Pratyabhijñā doctrine is the Virūpākṣapancāśikā (No. 9). To the same school belongs the Mahārthamañjarī in Prākrit stanzas with the Sanskrit commentary Parimala (No. 66) by Gorakṣa Mahesvarānanda, a follower of Abhinavagupta. Nyāya treatises are Maṇidarpaṇa (No. 34,) Maṇisāra (No. 35) and Nyāyasāra (No. 109) ; a treatise on Vaiśeṣika is the Kāṇādasiddhāntacandrikā (No. 25). A short summary of all systems of philosophy is the Sarvamatasaṁgraha (No. 62).

The *Alamkārāsastra* is well represented by new editions of Ruyyaka's Alamkārasūtra (No. 40), and Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa (Nos. 88, 100). We have also three rare works on *music* (Nos. 87, 94, 102).

Grammar has always been considered in India as the first of all sciences. So it is only right that the very first number of our Series should be a grammatical work, the Daiva, a treatise on the Dhātupāṭha in verses, with the commentary of Kṛṣṇalīlāśukamuni. Philosophy of language is the subject of two short treatises Sphoṭasiddhi (No. 89) and Sphoṭasiddhinyāyavicāra (No. 54). In No. 106 K. Sāmbaśiva Sāstrī begins an edition of the Prakriyāsarvasva by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a handbook of grammar which is very popular in Kerala.

Of *lexicographical works* we find Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa (Nos. 23,29,31) and above all an excellent edition of the Amarakośa with the commentary of Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda (Nos. 38,43,51, 52).

Of *Dharmaśāstras* we have to mention two very important works, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti with the commentary of Viśvarūpa (Nos. 74,81), and the Nāradīya-Manusaṁhitā with the commentary of Bhavasvāmin (No. 97). We have hitherto only had the two versions of the Nārada Smṛti, edited by J. Jolly. The new edition gives the longer version, but shows considerable variants to Jolly's edition in the *Bibliotheca India*.

We have already referred to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. There is also a good edition of Kāmandaka's Nītisāra with the Jayamaṅgala of Śaṅkarārya in No. 14 of the Series.

The sciences of *medicine*, *elephant lore* (Gajaśāstra), and *architecture* (Śilpaśāstra), *astronomy* and *astrology* are also represented in the Series by some rare and interesting works. Among the latest publications are such important works as Varāhamihira's Horaśāstra (No. 91) and the Āryabhaṭīya (Nos. 101, 110).

Some interesting and important *Tantric works* are also to be found in the Series, *e. g.*, the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati (Nos. 69,72,77,83), and the Viṣṇusaṁhitā (No. 85), which is said to be the source of the Tantrasamuccaya (Nos. 67,71) and other Tantras.

A *Buddhist* work of a Tantric character, though it describes itself as a Mahāvaipulya-Mahāyānasūtra, is the Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa of Bodhisattvapiṭakāvataṁsa (Nos. 70,76,84). This important text, which was translated into Chinese as a Mahāvaipulyasūtra between 980 and 1000 A. D. and into Tibetan as a Tantra in the 11th century, is

here published for the first time in the original Sanskrit. Of the great importance of this work for the history of later Buddhism, also for Buddhist iconography, there can be no doubt. More doubtful is the high age of the work which is ascribed by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya (Gaekavad Oriental Series, Vol. 53, p. XXXIII ff), to the second century A. D. But his arguments are by no means convincing.

The catholicity of the Trivandrum Series is not only proved by the inclusion of this Buddhist work. Lately also a *Jaina* text has been published in the Series, the Munisuvratakāvya or Kāvyaratna by the Jain poet Arhaddāsa (No. 107). This is a poem in ten sargas devoted to the Life of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata.

The Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum, and its present Curator, the worthy K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī, are to be heartily congratulated on having done such excellent service to Sanskrit learning. May this useful editorial work be continued in the same spirit and with the same success for many long years to come!

THE ART OF SRI HARSA.

By Rama Varma Pareekshit Tampuran B. A.,
(9th Prince of Cochin.)

I have often deplored the apathy displayed by many modern Sanskrit Scholars towards that monumental work of the great Śrī Harṣa "Naiṣadhīyacarita". At the back of my mind is the doubt whether this want of appreciation has not been caused, partly by the difficulty one experiences at a cursory reading to understand the tough and tangled verses deliberately thrown in—as he himself admits—by the author, and partly by the undue weight given—at least in this instance—to the criticisms of European scholars. It is a common saying in our midst here that Arur Atitiripad, who made a deep study of "Naiṣadha", and who was himself a poet* of no mean order, used to proclaim that as a Dhvani Kāvya' Nāṣhadha would not suffer in comparison with any work of even 'Kalidasa'. I have myself come across persons of learning and a critical mind who actually derived greater pleasure in reading 'Naiṣadha' than any other ancient or modern literary production.

It is not, however, my intention here to claim for 'Naiṣadha' the foremost place in Kāvya Literature, but simply to awaken the curiosity of students to explore this vast field and find for themselves the innumerable invaluable gems imbedded therein. For this purpose I shall here deal only with the two messengerships narrated in this Kāvya ; the first one in the third canto and the second in four cantos beginning from the sixth ; where the author has given evidence of his profound understanding of human nature and of his mastery over the ever-praised diction called Vaidarbhi Rīti'.

The first messenger, the divine swan, is a self-constituted one, desirous of making amends for the harsh words he addressed to King 'Nala' on misunderstanding his intention and of doing in return something worthy of the great mercy shown to him by the King. What he undertakes to do is a most difficult job, the winning over for the King of the love of Damayanti, the daughter of the King of the 'Vidarbhas' who is a very beautiful and accomplished maiden of budding youth and to gain whose hand Nala has been pining. How the swan suddenly appeared so near Damayanti, who was then sporting in the extensive garden with her friends, that

* The author of the Kavya "Uttara Naishadha", which one hopes to ere long published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

she at once wished to capture him, how he cleverly dodged all her attempts, while not altogether crushing the hope, and thus drew her away from her friends and how he then struck her dumb by beginning to speak like a human being, are all described by Śrī Harṣa in simple and flowing verses, employing words and sentences of double meaning in more than one appropriate place.

The heavenly swan assumes the part of an affectionate well-wisher, scolds her in tones and words of great tenderness for her rashness in leaving her friends and following him to the jungles, and under the guise of letting her understand—as all good-natured people will do when they find themselves in a similar situation—who he is and why he happens to be there, secures an opportunity to eulogise Nala and everything pertaining to him. He is first praised for his extreme piety and unstinted liberality, which through the favour of the Gods, have gained for him heavenly bliss on earth. The clever messenger then says that even the Goddesses are enamoured of him, makes a passing reference to the uncommon handsomeness of the King's face and again launches forth into short descriptions of his great learning, wealth, prowess etc. Further he tells her as if anxious not to hide anything about himself from her—that he is a favourite of the King and such a constant visitor to his harem as to have been made by the ladies there their friend and confidant.

Having thus carefully prepared the ground, he sows the seed by making the suggestion why she herself should not aspire to the enviable position of being Nala's beloved wife, as, in his opinion he and she alone are worthy of each other in all respects, and by going to the length of saying that, when out of sheer curiosity asked as to who was destined to be Nala's consort, the Creator seemed to him to have mentioned her name.

As a consummate diplomat, the swan now pretends that this idea has struck him only just then, that, that being quite an extraneous matter, no more need be thought of it, and that he is only anxious to undo the wrong of having insidiously dragged her so far and thus tired her by obtaining for her whatever her heart desires. Here he stops to gauge the effect of his words, knowing full well the unwisdom of going any further, if the lady is indifferent or hostile to the idea of a union with Nala.

The accomplished princess rises to the occasion, takes the blame on herself for trying to capture him who, as heaven-born, deserves only to be revered, praises his noble-mindedness, says that nothing in the world could give her greater happiness than that occasioned by his 'darsan' and then throws out in a shy and charming way a hint that she is desirous of wedding the King and that at the same time conveys her fear of the impossibility of her wish being fulfilled.

But the messenger, though he readily grasped her hidden meaning and was consequently pleased, is not quite satisfied and tries to induce her to speak plainly, assuring her that nothing is impossible in the world and proclaiming his ability to procure her heart's desire whatever it is. Damayanti, still too coy to express it, again quibbles. The swan pays a glowing tribute to her wit and learning, but, in order to force her to make a clear pronouncement, makes a frontal attack by declaring that, though he has guessed her meaning, he is afraid of a probable change of her heart and consequently unwilling to help her with the great King and by requesting her to ask him for anything else.

Thus driven to a corner, Damayanti yields. Her fear that she may lose a golden opportunity if she keeps up her present attitude gets the better of her natural shyness. Not only does she announce her unwavering love for Nala, ridicule the idea of her marrying, of her own accord, any body else and express her unshakable determination even to commit suicide if her father forces her to do so, but also turns herself a supplicant. She mentions her own love-lorn condition and coaxes the swan in winning words to make the King return her love; and is so agitated that she hastens to warn him of the risks if he delivers her message to the King at inopportune moments.

The swan is overjoyed and, now that he has attained his purpose, at once informs Damayanti that the King has as much been a target of the Cupid's arrows as herself. To convince her of this fact he describes the ten 'Kama Varthas,' the King has been subject to on account of his deep love for her. He confesses that he is the messenger of Nala himself; assures her that, inasmuch as their love is mutual and engrossing, their union is the easiest thing in the world; congratulates her and Nala on their good fortune and prophesies their enjoyment in future of perfect bliss.

With such sweet and encouraging words the swan takes leave of the heroine and hurries back to the love-stricken King.

It is thus that Śrī Harṣa with a few bold touches gives us a most vivid picture of one of the most important incidents in his 'Itivṛtta'.

Let us now turn our attention to the second messengership narrated in this same Kāvya. The author here introduces us to a more dramatic situation. The messenger is no other than the hero Nala, the passionate and accepted lover of Damayanti. The senders of the message are the Gods, Indra, Agni, Yama and Varuṇa, who so deeply fell in love with her as even to take an undue advantage of the King's promise to do any service for them made without fully knowing the sinister purpose at the back of their minds. And she to whom their message of love and request for marriage are to be taken is Damayanti herself who has already resolved to marry none else than her beloved Nala and who has been eagerly looking forward to see him at the 'Svayaṁvara Maṇḍap' and throw the 'Varaṇamāla' at his neck.

A more piquant situation can hardly be imagined. Nala has been burning with the desire to take his beloved into his arms and hold her in a long embrace, but is now in honour bound not only to hide his feelings but also to plead with her the cause of others. Damayanti's love for Nala also is to be tested in the furnace of a great temptation.

It is with the hope of his own happiness shattered, but confident of an easy success in his mission because of his conviction that no damsel in the world would prefer a mortal man to the great immortal Gods, that he takes himself to the presence of the daughter of 'Bhīma'. Śrī Harṣa's dramatic talent, unerring as it always is, creates a scene here which produces an altogether different effect on the hero. As the King protected by 'Tiraskariṇividya' enters, he sees the female messengers of Agni, Yama and Varuṇa returning crestfallen and hears the strong pleading of Indra's messenger and an equally strong but sweetly expressed refusal by the highly intelligent and accomplished Damayanti. He is at once both buoyed up and dejected; buoyed up because he sees a silver lining in the dark clouds of his broken hopes, and dejected because he realises the extreme difficulty he will have to encounter in serving his masters.

With his love and honour thus contending for mastery Nala enters, feasts his eyes on the lovely enchanting youthful figure of the queen of his heart and slowly but eagerly notes the excellence of every portion of her body. Śrī Harṣa here, as in many other places, completely identifies himself with his hero, gives free play to his imagination as a lover will do on his first beholding his beloved and serves us with an almost unsurpassable description of his heroine's 'Kēśādipāda'.

The author further depicts beautifully in a few verses the effects produced on the young ladies and particularly on Damayanti when the King lets go his 'Tiraskariṇi' and appears before them in his immaculate loveliness. The hero and heroine are at once drawn to each other, but are forced to put breaks, the one remembering his messengership and the other realising the impossibility of her Nala getting access to the female apartments in the royal palace. The feelings engendered in the hearts of the young damsels at the sudden vision of a very handsome youth with nobility imprinted on all his expressions and movements are so overpowering that they all stand voiceless, as is natural—except perhaps in the case of the rather unsexed women of modern education. Damayanti recovers first, though only partly, welcomes the new comer in such pregnant phrases as only a highly accomplished lady of noble ancestry can give utterance to. With a view to please him she frankly praises him for his wonderful handsomeness which in her opinion can be compared only to that of the renowned Nala; and thus expresses her eagerness to hear what he has come to say.

Nala with difficulty masters his emotions; announces himself as the messenger of the Gods; and, knowing well what a strong-willed lady he has to deal with, vividly portrays with illustrations the pitiable conditions to which his masters have been brought on account of their great love for her. Their messages are then delivered in their own words; and he requests her to please him also by accepting one of his masters as her husband.

Damayanti listens, but only because of the beauty of his words. Completely ignoring his earnest pleading on behalf of the Gods, she takes him to task for not revealing his name and ancestry which she has asked for. The messenger to humour her, partly yields, says that he is a scion of 'Somavaṁśa' and, without mentioning his name, in spite of

her insistence, shows the harm in such parleying and urges her to give an immediate reply.

Damayanti takes up the challenge. She makes her attitude towards the Gods quasi manifest by her first reference to his messengership and humourously shows the incongruousness of a human being marrying a God and spending her days in the midst of divine damsels. Too shy to do so herself, she makes one of her friends inform him of her deep love for Nala, of her unalterable resolution as a 'Pativrata', of marrying him alone and of her determination, if forced to do otherwise, to put an end to her life.

In hoping to have thus silenced the messenger Damayanti counted without her host. Then follows an interesting measuring of swords in the wordy warfare between these two highly accomplished persons, until the messenger overwhelms Damayanti with argument after argument to prove that, however clever and ingenious she may be, she can escape from the hands of the Gods by no means whatever.

The author thus presents to us how a man or woman of high character holds to his or her principles, however great may be the temptations thrown in his or her way. But he does not stop there satisfied. He takes us further and gives us a keener insight into human nature by depicting in ever memorable verses how, when her strong will was broken and fear and grief gripped her heart, Damayanti loses her self-control and amidst copious tears gives vent to her feelings in incoherent words and passionately calls on her Lord Nala to come and save her or at least not to go away from her heart when the 'Prāṇas' leave her body on account of the intense mental pain she suffers from. This unexpected outburst on her part so much affects the great King that he forgets the rôle of the messenger and throws himself heart and soul into the task of pacifying her and incidentally reveals himself.

What happens afterwards and how the hero and heroine behave in this crisis I must request my readers to find out, if they want, from the engrossing pages of Naiṣadha itself. My intention is to whet their appetite and not to satisfy it.

A word more and I have done. Any student of Sanskrit Literature worth the name cannot but be fairly acquainted with that deservedly famous poem of Kālidāsa, namely 'Meghasandesa'. Such a one, however, is apt to be led away

with the idea that any Kāvya dealing with messengerships can only be its imitation good, bad or indifferent. The correction of this error is one of my objects in choosing the subject matter of this paper. In the 'Cloud-Messenger' and poems of that ilk the messenger is only a mute listener to the out-pourings of a stricken heart. Rarely, as in 'Meghadūta', he is made to serve the purpose of an 'Uddīpanavibhava' also. There is no presentation of dramatic situations; nor are we made to see the most interesting effects of the playing upon each other of subtle intellects. We are indebted to Śrī Harṣa's art for such a presentation of characters as the reader never loses his interest in them. Śrī Harṣa is no slavish imitator and this fact is amply borne out by his incomparable work 'Naiṣadha' whose perusal will more than repay the trouble one at the beginning may find in deciphering it.

ABBREVIATIONS.

(USED IN "SANSKRIT POETESSES".)

DC Descriptive catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras.

TC Triennial catalogue of Do.

SVH Sources of Vijianagar History.

IA Indian Antiquary

EI Epigraphia Indica

MYS, OML Catalogue of the Mysore Oriental manuscripts Library.

SANSKRIT POETESSES.

By M. Krishnamachariar, M. A, M L., Ph. D., M. R A. S
Principal Sub-Judge Devakottai.

1. Among the authors of the hymns of the Rg Veda, we have some women. The Ātreya house produced the poetesses, Viśvavārāś (V. 28) and Apala (VIII. 91). In the Kakśivat house, there was a line of poetesses and of these Ghośā was the greatest. She was the daughter of Kakṣīvanī. She calls herself a princess and probably her father was a ruler. She remained unmarried to a late age, when she was favoured with a husband by the grace of the Aśvins. She wrote in Jagatī metre and her verses are easy and well balanced (I.117,122). Juhu (X. 109), Śaśvatī (VXI.I), Māndhātrī (X.134), Mādhāvī (I.91), Śāśiprabhā IV 4), Anulakśmī (II.78,III. 28, 63, 74 and 76), Revā (1.87), Pāhayī, (I.83) and Rohā (II 63) are also poetic seers of the hymns. Aśvalāyana mentions Gārgī, Vācaknavī and Badavā Prātitheyī along with the ancient venerable Ṛśis. Lopāmudra is referred to in the Anukramani (1.179.192) [1]

2. Dhanadeva's verse is quoted in 'Sārṇgadharapaddhati:

शीलाविज्जामारुलामोरिकाद्याः काव्यं कर्तुं सन्ति विज्ञाः स्त्रियोऽपि ।
विद्यां वेत्तुं वादिनो निर्विजेतुं विश्वं वक्तुं यः प्रवीणः स वन्द्यः ॥

Rājāsekhara praises some poetesses. 'Sīla, Vijayānkā or Vijjā or Vijjikā. Subhadrā, Prabhudevī, Vikatanitambā.

शब्दार्थयोः समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥
के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥
सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी विजयाङ्का जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥
सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां कलानां च विलासभूः ।
प्रभुर्देवी कविर्लाटी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥
पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥
नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जकां तामजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्ता सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

1. See Women Poets of the Rig Veda (IA, I. 113), Poems by Indian Women by N. Macnicol (Her. of India Series); Jl. of Sams. Sah. Parishat, XVI.

Śīlā's expression followed her imegery[1], Vikatanitambā's verse was elegant in simplicity.[2] The style of Subhadrā appealed to the poetic mind and stuck to it for ever. Motikā and Māruld excelled in suggestions of ideas[3].

Vijjā was Sarasvati incarnate except that she was dark in complexion[4]. Vijjakā has been identified with the queen of Candrāditya, son of Pulakesin 11, from the Nerur and Kochre grants dated 659 A. D.[5]

3. Rāja Śekharacarita mentions poetesses, Kamalilā, Sunandā, Kanakavallī, Madhurāṅgī, Lalitāṅgī and Vimalāṅgī of Malava)[6]. Ballāla's Bhoja carita mentions some poetesses too, but it is doubtful if these were not fictitious names[7].

4. The anthologies also quote verses of Jaghanacapalā (Padyav), Avilambitasarasvatī (Padyav), Indulekhā (Subh) Kuntīdevī (Subh) Candālavidyā (Skm), Nagamā (Sp), Padmāvatī (Pnt), Madālasā (Sp); Rajakasarasvatī (Skm), Lakshmī (Sp), Vīrasarasvatī (Padyav), Sarasvatī (Skm) and Sīta (Bhojaprabandha).

Sila:

प्रियाविरहितस्याद्य हृदि चिन्ता ममागता ।
इति मत्वा गता निद्रा के कृतघ्नमुपासते ॥

Subh. 1197.

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1. Vagbhata in his Kavyanusana quotes a verse as of Sila's. Is it Sita? See Peterson, Subh. 130.
2. See Peterson, Subh. 117, Thomas, Kav. 104, Aufrecht, ZDMG, XXVII, 85, CC, I 569, Bhandarkar Rep (1895) xix, xlvii.
3. Peterson Subh, 94.
4. See Peterson, Subh. 119. Thomas, Kav. 104, Aufrecht, ZDMG, XXVII, 85, CC, I. 571, Bhandarkar, Rep (1897) xix, xlvii Bhoja quotes from Vijjaka and Vikatanitamba.
5. IA, VIII, 44, 163. B. Bhattacarya (Brief Summary of Sahitya Sastra, Journal of Dep. of Letters, Calcutta, IX) says that he was contemporary of Dandin.
6. DC, XXI. 8167, JMY, XI. 7679
7. Some of these verses are very good. For instance:

धनुः पौष्पं मौर्वी मधुकरमयी चञ्चलदृशां
दृशां कोणो बाणः सुहृदपि जडात्मा हिमकरः ।
स्वयं चैकोऽनङ्गस्त्रिभुवनमपि व्याकुलयति
क्रियासिद्धिः सत्त्वे भवति महतां नोपकरणे ॥

Jaghanacapala:

दुर्दिननिशीथपवने निस्सञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्यौ विदेशयाते परं सुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥

Kav. 518.

Indulekha:

एके वारिनिधौ प्रवेशमपरे लोकान्तरालोकनं
केचित् पावकयोगितां निजगदुः क्षीणेऽह्नि चण्डार्चिषः ।
मिथ्या चैतदसाक्षिकं प्रियसखि! प्रत्यक्षतीव्रातपं
मन्येऽहं पुनरध्वनीनरमणीचेतोऽधिशेते रविः ॥

Subh. 1902.

Marula:

कृशा केनासि त्वं प्रकृतिरियमङ्गस्य ननु मे
मलाधूम्रा कस्माद् गुरुजनगृहे पाचकतया ।
स्मरस्यस्मान् कच्चिन्नहि नहि नहीत्येवमगमत्
स्मरोत्कम्पं बाला मम हृदि निपत्य प्ररुदिता ॥

Subh. 1326.

Morika

मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय! प्रियशतैर्भूयस्त्वमुक्तो मया
बाला प्राङ्गणमागतेन भवता प्राप्नोति निष्ठां पराम् ।
किञ्चान्यत् कुचभारपीडनसहैर्यत्नप्रबद्धैरपि
त्रुट्यत्कञ्चुकजालकैरनुदिनं निस्सूत्रमस्मद्गृहम् ॥

Subh. 1033.

Vikatanitamba:

अन्यासु तावदुपमर्दसहासु भृङ्ग! लोलं विनोदय मनः सुमनोलतासु ।
बालामजातरजसं कलिकामकाले व्यर्थं कदर्थयसि किं नवमालिकायाः ॥

Subh. 735.

Vidya or Vijja:

किंशुककलिकान्तर्गतमिन्दुकलास्पर्धिकेसरं भाति ।
रक्तनिचोलकपिहितं धनुरिव जतुमुद्रितमनङ्गस्य ॥

Subh. Int. 118.

Bhavadevi:

सजन्मानौ तुल्यावभिजनभुवा जन्म च सह-
प्रवृद्धौ नाम्ना च स्तन इति समानावुदयिनौ ।
मिथः सीमामात्रे यदिदमनयोर्मण्डलवतो-
रपि स्पर्धायुद्धं तदिह नमस्यः कठिनिमा ॥

Kav. 62.

5. Gangadevi was consort of Kampana of Kamparaya the second son of Bukka[1] (1343-1379) A. D. who predeceased his father by two years. In Madhuravijaya or Virakamparaya-carita [2], a poem, now extant only as a fragment, she narrates in melodious verses the exploits of her husband and narrates the history of his expedition to the south. The city of Vijayanagar with its temple and suburbs is described with all magnificence. Then comes the moving army and its relays on its way to Kanci, where it is quartered for the winter. Inspired by the exhortation of a Goddess in his dream to extirpate the Musalmans and to restore the country to its ancient glory, he advances to the south, kills the Sultan of Madura and commemorates his victory by munificent grants to the temples of the country [3].

6. Kamakoti or Abhirama Kāmākṣi was the daughter of Sabhapati, son of Abhirama of Śrivatsagotra. Related to the Dindimas, she flourished about 1500 A. D., when the glory of Vijayanagar empire was at its height [4]. In a poem Abhinava-Ramabhyudaya, in 24 cantos, she related in exquisite verses the story of Ramayaṇa [5].

7. Tirumalamba's literary achievements were the subject of universal admiration. She began under King Kṛṣṇa Devaraya (1509-1529 A. D.) and continued to the days of Acyutaraya (1529-1542 A. D.) of the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagar.

The only extant work of hers, Varadambikapariṇaya[6],

1. *EC*, Mysore, Dt. No. 46 and see also *EI*, XII. 162. But Sewell (Frogotten Empire, 29) gives to Bukka reign, 1343-1379 A. D. See also *TC*, III. 2985.
2. Ed. By Hariharasastri, Trivandrum, with a historical introduction by T. A. Gopinatha Row, T. C. III. 2985
3. For an account of this poem, see *Sources of Vijayanagar History*.
4. See Vibhagapatramala (*TC*, II. 2462) Edited with translation and notes by T. Gopinatha Row in JA, XLVII, 83, 94, 125.
5. *TC*, IV, 5202.
6. *TANJ. CAT.* VII. 3244. For a full account, see paper by Lakshman Sarup in Proceedings of Fourth Oriental Conference, II. 181.

is a pleasant prose-poetic composition. It begins with a short geneological history and describes the exploits of Narsa, his marriage of Obamamba, and the birth of the son Acyuta[1]. Then follows the marriage of Acyuta and Varadamba, a princess of Salaga and ends with the installation of their boy China Vankatadri, as the Yuvaraja[2].

8. Priyamvada was the daughter of Sivarama and wife of Rghunatha. She lived in Faridpur, East Bengal, soon after 1600 A. D.[3]. She wrote the poem Syāmarahasya and her earliest verse was in praise of Kṛṣṇa.

कालिन्दीपुलिनेषु केलिकलनं कंसादिदैत्यद्विषं
गोपालीभिरभिष्टुतं व्रजवधूनेत्रोत्पलैरर्चितम् ।
बर्हालङ्कृतमस्तकं सुललितैरङ्गैस्त्रिभङ्गं भजे
गोविन्दं व्रजसुन्दरं भवहरं वंशीधरं श्यामलम् ॥

9. Vaijayanti was the daughter of Mūrabhatta of the village of Dhanuka in Faridpur District. She married Kṛṣṇanātha, son of Durgadāsa, Tarakavāgīsa of Kotalipada. She lived in the middle of 17th century A. D. She learnt Sanskrit under her father and was proficient in Mīmāmsa. Once when her husband could not make out a passage अत्र तु नोक्तं तत्रापि नोक्तं and taught his pupils wrongly as meaning, "Here too not said, and there too not said", but dissatisfied with the interpretation, appeared to be troubled over it, Vaijayanti gave the correction construction अत्र तुना उक्तं, तत्र अपिना उक्तम् । She wrote fine poetry but it is all merged in Anandalatikacampu composed by her husband Kṛṣṇanatha, and her collaboration there is mentioned by Kṛṣṇanatha himself आनन्दलतिकाचम्पूर्येनाकारि स्त्रिया सह. Once it is said while Kṛṣṇanatha was composing verses descriptive of a nayika, Vaijayanti composed a verse at once.

अहिरयं कलधौतगिरिभ्रमात् स्तनमगात् किल नाभिहृदोत्थितः ।
इति निवेदयितुं नयने हि यच्छ्रवणसीमनि किं समुपस्थिते ॥

Jayanti is mentioned in an article by the editor of Viśvakośa in an old magazine, Bangavashi, East Bengal. She has written a fine peom, said to have been seen by Pandit Amūlyacaran Vidyābhūṣan, Assistant Secretary Bengal Sahitya Parishat.[4]

1. Acyuta ascended the throne in 1530 A. D. 2. SVH, 170.
3. For an account see Sah, XXI. 112.
4. I am indebted for this information to J. N. C. Ganguly, M. A.

10. Madhuravaṇi, whose real name is not known, flourished in the court of the King Raghunatha Naik of Tanjore who came to the throne about 1614 A. D. His son Vijayaraghava Naik ruled till 1662 A. D. In 14 cantos she wrote a poem on the story of Rāmāyaṇa in measures as graceful as the author's extant name. Her description of good poetry is lovely [1]. In the 1st canto she thus describes the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed : Once when the Prince Raghunatha-Bhupa was seated on his throne surrounded by the accomplished court-ladies, one of them sang verses from the beautiful Andhra-Rāmāyaṇa composed by the Prince himself ; while another complimented him for his untiring devotion to God Śrī Rāma. This set the Prince thinking on Śrī Rama, and he considered within himself as follows : "Many are the stories of Vishnu ; and amongst them it is Rama's story that serves as nectar to me. Though enjoyed thousands of times, it seems to me ever fresh and pleases me most. Hundreds of ladies are assembled here, who are skilled in composing orginal Sanskrit and Telugu works, who amongst these could best render my Andhra Rāmāyaṇa into Sanskrit verses. With such thoughts, the Prince retired from the Court. God Śrī Rama appeared to him that night in a vision and said "I understand what is now uppermost in your mind. Give up all anxiety in the matter. Know that the lady, whom you have honoured with the title Madhuravāṇi, is the ablest of all the court-ladies". Next day when the court assembled he called Madhuravāṇi to his side and related to her the vision he had the previous night, and directed her to bring out an excellent work on Śrī Rama, which shall be replete with beautiful alaṅkaras (figures of speech) and rasas (emotions) in language that is charming and melodious". She replied—"With the aid of one (yourself) that always has Śrī Rama at heart, I can say the work is achieved". About the end of the 1st canto, there is a lively description of her royal patron and his splendid court [2].

11. Uppayya [3], Manorama and Subhadra of Malabar, Avantisundari, wife of Rajaśekhara, and Sundari and Kamala, wives of Ghanasyama, were peotesses of renown [4],

1. "मध्येमणीभित्त्यनुबिम्बित स्वं मत्वा रमां यत्र विनन्तुकामा ।
करे तदीये कमलं तदानीमलक्षमाणा त्रपते नताङ्गी ॥"

2. See MYS. OHL Sup 10. There is a brief account of it, by Narasimha Iyengar in the Indian Review.

JRAS, O S. I. Index.

See para 166. Supra.

Gaṅgadevi, Madhuravāṇi and Tirumalamba have already been mentioned.

12. Lakhima Thakurani is the famous poetess of Mithila. A verse of hers is repeated :

आक्रान्ता दशमध्वजस्य गतिना सम्मूर्च्छिता निर्जले
तुर्यद्वादशमद्वितीयमतिमन्नेकादशाभस्तनी ।
सा षष्ठी कटिपञ्चमी च नवमभ्रूः सप्तमीवर्जिता
प्राप्नोत्यष्टमवेदनां त्वमधुना तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

Here is an indirect form of the signs of the zodiac, numbered in serial order from Meṣa [1].

"Attacked with the severe onslaught of the God of Love is she. Distraught like a craft or a fish in a dry place is she. Oh ; Thou bull-minded one, the damsel round, of arms as a water jar, with arched eyebrows (the destined wife of thou who art like a lord amongst kings and who is not (gross) like a shop-keeper's wife who plies the scales (who has no equal). She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite. Surely, let the result of married life relieve her." [2]

13. Triveni was the daughter of Udayendrapuram Anantacharya and was so named because she was born immediately after her father completed his poem Yadava-Raghava-Pandaviya. She lived in 1817-1883 A. D. She was married to Prativadi-Bhayankaram Venkaṭācarya of Śriperumbudur. Her poetic instincts manifested themselves even before her marraige and after her marriage, she studied philosophy under her husband. She had a son who predeceased her and after she became a widow she wished to erect a temple for some idols discovered in her place and presented to her by the Collector who was pleased with her Hāratipancaka. For that purpose she went to the courts of Travancore and was well received there. Dewan Raṅgacariya of Mysore was her admirer and by his

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1. Pandit A. M. Srinivasacarya of Agaram near Conjeevaram has a similar verse.

"मेषारोहनिभं निरीक्ष्य वृषभं मत्वा त्वया द्वन्द्वभा-
वाप्त्यै कर्कटवत् प्रतीपगमना सिंहावलग्नाश्रिता ।
कन्यासावतुलापि वृश्चिकसमैर्बाणैर्धनुष्यर्पितै-
रामुक्ता मकरध्वजेन कलिता कुम्भस्तनी मीनदृक् ॥"

2. As translated by G. A. Grierson IA, XV. 318.

patronage she completed the shrines. She was prolix in her writings and her capacity to make up samāsyas extempore was remarkable. Among women she stands foremost in poetic contributions to Sanskrit Literature. Her peoms of devotion are Lakṣmīsahasra and Ranganathasahera, her lyrics, are Sukasamdeśa and Bhṛṅgasandeśa, and her poems are Raṅgabhyudaya and Sampatkumaravijaya, her plays Rangarātsamudaya and Tattvamudrabhadrodaya, the latter of which is allegorical.

Lakṣmi Rañji was a princess of Kadathanadu, Ikavalam Kovilagam, Malabar. She lived about 1890 Her Santanagopalakāvya in 3 cantos relates a story that a brahmin lost his ten children successively, Arjuna promised to save the last and when he was unable to do it and resolved to enter the fire Kṛsṇa intervened and from Vaikuṇtha brought back all the ten lost children. The last canto has Yamaka composition [1].

Sundaravalli lived about 1900 A. D. She was the daughter of Narasimha Iyengar of Mysore, and studied under Kasturi Rangacarya. She wrote Ramayaṇacampu in 6 cantos corresponding to the Kandas of Ramayaṇa [2].

Jananasundari was a dancing girl of Kumbakonam. She lived there and passed away about 1910. She was the pupil of Kuppuswami Śāstrī of Srivatsagotra and was, as she says, the author of several works; of these however only Hālāsyacampū in 6 Stabakas has been traced. There are old gentlemen living in the southern diatricts who remember her discourses, dancing and recitals, well and with delight and R. Fisher, Bar-at-law, of Madura was her particular patron. She visited the Mysore court and there received the title Kaviratna. Her narration of the wedding of Mīnakṣi and Sundareśa makes pleasant reading. In verse she is fond of alliteration [3] :—

मधुरीकृतगरलत्वाद् मधुराभिख्या तदादि सा नगरी ।
निजसीमस्थफणित्वाद् विभाति हालास्यनामतश्चेह ॥

तस्या ललाटलीनस्वाहापतिरेव शान्तसन्तापः ।
रेजे कुङ्कुमातिलकव्याजान्नूनं बुधा हि कालविदः ॥

1. Printed Trichur. 2. Printed Bangalore. 3. Printed Sividya Press, Kumbakonam.

FOLK-SONGS OF KERALA

by

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Twenty-five years ago, the Government of Travancore inaugurated an Institution to engage itself in the publication of Oriental Manuscripts. The idea of the present talented Curator, Mr. K. Sambasiva Sastri, to celebrate the Jubilee of that institution by the publication of a memorial volume, is a very happy one. In this he can take stock of the work it has already accomplished, announce the nature of the work that will be done in the immediate future, receive criticisms and suggestions from savants here and abroad that will contribute to the value and improvement of the work of this department, and also give room for a few learned articles which will be allied to that work and relevant to furnish fresh avenues to it.

The discrimination shown in the selection of the works for publication in the several series started by the institution, the informing introductions and illuminating notes that adorn many of them have shown the wide and deep erudition of the editors and have covered their generous government with undying glory. "May the activities of this institution prosper' shall be, at this auspicious period, the wish and prayer of scholars who have had occasion to know them and to appreciate them.

With this contribution I pay my humble tribute to the worth and work of this institution.

Folklore means the lore of the folk, the learning of the people. It was Mr. W. J. Thomas who coined this word in 1846 ; and he intended to mean by it "the traditional learning of the cultivated classes of civilised nations". In this sense it has been adopted by several other countries. The import of the word, as elaborated, stands now for the science also, which treats of the survivals of archaic beliefs and customs in modern ages ; that is, that department of the study of archaeology which covers everything connected with ancient observances and customs, notions and beliefs, traditions and superstitions and even prejudices of the common people.

This study of folklore is of recent growth. It was only in 1878 that the Folklore Society of London, the first of its kind, was started. In these days, in every civilised land,

there are bodies engaged in the collection, classification and study of folklore. Folklore as such began to come into being from ancient times. Even folk-tales made their appearance in literature at a very early period. In India, we have Jatakas and the Pancatantra ; Homer has incorporated many folk-tales in his immortal poems, and the Arabs have their Thousand and one Nights. In fact every country has its own store of folkore.

The folklore is generally classified under three main divisions. (1) Beliefs and customs ; (2) Narratives and sayings ; and (3) Art. (1) There are branches to these major heads. For, the first will take in (*a*) superstitious beliefs and practices, connected with animate and inanimate nature, with ghosts and goblins ; witch-craft and leach-craft, magic and divination ; and (*b*) traditional customs which will include customs during festive days and seasons and those during ceremonies linked with birth and death and every important event between those two incidents. (2) Narratives and sayings will comprise tales and fables, myths and legends, nursery rhymes, riddles and proverbs. (3) And Art will embrace folk music with ballads and songs and folk drama.

Our theme is folksong which will certainly come in the art section, but will also find a place in the narrative portion as historical, devotional, sentimental or romantic songs. Cecil Sharp, who devoted his life to folk-song and folk-dance, has done service of immense value ; and in recent years British composers consider it a pleasure and a piece of patriotic duty to resort to folk-songs for their pattern and their inspiration.

It is interesting to trace the growth of folk-songs, although there be some who consider the work as a study of decadence with no gladsome prospect about it. Let us see if it is so after all.

"In the course of ages, the uncouth, vocal utterances of primitive man developed into sounds of more or less definite pitch. From these emerged short phrases, in which rhythm probably played the principal part, reiterated with interminable persistency". What we call the burden of the song or its refrain is reminiscent of this tendency. "You will then find the phrase repeated at a different level by way of contrast or variety. It is by a combination of these modes that melody is gradually reached."

When this stage is reached, the history of a song as a musical form falls into two main courses: the folk-song and the art-song. An art-song is the result of a conscious effort of a skilled and civilised person, while a folk-song is an unconscious product of the mind guided more by instinct than by method. A gifted singer will make a poem, off-hand, about current events, and will sing it to an appropriate tune of an existing song, or will make up a tune, from typical ones. A familiar, popular form will, as a rule, be the one most acceptable. Novelty has rarely any charms for the singers or for their listeners. Some of these folk-songs may be of doubtful value; and while the tunes are mostly good, they may not, in many cases, be of surpassing beauty; there may be irregularities of time and mode as well. With all these plausible defects, these songs reflect the life of the people who sing them and of those who listen to them, and generally contribute in no small measure to their hilarity and to make the even tenor of their lives, pleasant and enjoyable.

In the early stages of folk-song, one will invariably find that singing and dancing go hand in hand. Except to hazard a suggestion, I am not prepared to decide the right of precedence between the two. It is more than likely that, instead of a song being a subordinate adjunct to a dance, the dance must have had its origin in the mimetic actions that naturally accompany rudimentary songs. Whatever that might be, folk-dances have an interest of their own; their inherent simplicity, vigour and dignity indicate the level of folk-culture. They stimulate muscular activity of a rhythmical sort. From the point of view of art as well as physical culture, and in that they enhance the joy of life these traditional dances have a value, all their own. The flawless, varied steps, the pose and rhythmic movements, the swaying to and fro of the body, the bending and rising, the advance and retire, to see these is to admire them. There is harmony in these picturesque mass movements, and when these accompany their appropriate songs, one gets the divine thrill. In a primitive rural village, under the canopy of heaven, and with the soft, cool air wafting on you from the smiling greens around, these folk dances and folk-songs have their best environment.

Every country, even every race, owns its collection of folk-songs, its store of ballads. As a rule, these will be the results of a spontaneous outburst of the inspiration of the

people. These popular songs, historical ballads and devotional hymns may not compare favourably in their texture and technique with the finished products of the conscious efforts of civilised poets. But these two represent in a remarkable degree the tastes, the feelings and the aspirations of the country or of the race to which they belong. In fact they form a record of the short and simple annals of the people, "a record of the inner life, of the loves and hatreds, doubts and fears, hopes and beliefs" of each race, nay of each generation of each race. "Unlike the cultivated arts which are often marred by a complicated formality and artificiality, an excessive elegance and over-refinement of mannerism, the folk-art of every nation has a primitive purity, directness, vigour, vitality and robustness which serve as a perennial fund for the regeneration and strengthening of natural life and national art from age to age."

Folksongs are the songs of the folk, of the common people. They are songs composed by the common people. From age to age they are handed down by oral tradition. They are sung by the common people when they go through 'the merry round of their daily toil', when they sow, reap or clean the weeds ; when they carry a load or drive a country cart ; when maidens go to fetch water from the village well, or mothers lull their babies to sleep. At festive seasons like Onam, Vishu and Thiruvathiray and on ceremonial occasions in the family, like marriage or birth, they are sung. Above all, in some of these songs you will find the outpourings of a sad or gladsome heart to its favourite deity ; for if there is one thing in which a race expresses itself freely and fully, that thing is its religion.

activities, under three groups, as those actuated by reason, imagination and emotion. In the realm of pure reason, of science, there is no scope for striking differences. Fortunately, there is no chemistry special for India, as different from one for Europe or for America. When it comes to imagination, let us take the case of philosophy for instance, for, you will find Kant, Comte and Sankara have different modes of approaching the great problems of the universe. While in the emotional sphere the contrast is pointed. Let us take the case of music or poetry; there we shall notice the soul-genius of each race exhibited in its separate aspects. As Mr. Dutt rightly remarks, "It is through the medium of these more than any other that the soul quality of each nation finds its characteristic self-expression. It is through the national art that a nation makes its contribution to human culture". It can easily be seen that for the development of the creative genius of an individual as of a race, it is necessary to look to his 'national art, rhythmic mould and inspirational channel'. However great an Indian might be, no great work will be done by a slavish imitation of foreign models. From the life and work of Toru Dutt, one will understand what I mean. She came to her own, she produced her lasting works only when, on the advice of the late Professor Edmund Gosse, she took to Indian models, to Indian scenes and incidents. Thus you will realise the value of our folk-songs in stimulating our national literature.

There is another use for our folk-songs, and that specially in these days of depression. Even apart from the gloomy prospect caused by the reduction of trade and want of work, there is among our moderns an artificiality borne of the cramping effects of foreign etiquette and alien influences. Such conditions are absent in rural parts and among the simple, unlettered people there. In the face of poverty and its attendant trials, these folk-songs help to keep them aloft and to retain the spirit of the old-world ways and the child-like joy. That is no small good turn of our folk-songs. For, depend upon it, when a race loses its vitality to face bad days and gives way to despair, it is certain to be lost. Songs are sung when soldiers march to meet the enemy to drive their dull cares away and to incite them to action ; and martial music we know are not from the strains of a Beethoven or of a Wagner. They are songs of the folk that speak of simple joys or ballads that narrate the brave deeds of the heroes of their land. For a regiment of Ghurka soldiers a

national ditty or a well-known ballad of theirs will be much more appealing and inspiriting than an English tune or a Welsh air. We can see the correctness of this contention by an appeal to our personal experience in our daily lives.

A ballad, according to Andrew Lang, an authority on myths and legends and folklore, is from 'baller'–to dance, and means a song sung to the rhythmetic movement of a dancing chorus. The word is also applied to any popular story told in simple verse. It is under this second definition that our northern ballads, familiarly known as Vatakkan Pāṭṭu and Thachchōḷi Pāṭṭu, find a place. Thachchōḷi is a Dēśom in the Muttati Amśom of Kurumbranad Taluk in North Malabar These ballads narrate the gallant exploits of Māppayil Kunhi, Othēnan, a valiant Nayar of Thachchōḷi. These display the life of the Malayalis of those days in a realistic manner, of their rough and ready ways and of their bold and straight dealings.

Othēnan was a Robin Hood *minus* his plundering propensities, and he had his little John in Othayatheytathil Kandasseri. Othēnan was a source of terror in his locality. Valayavur Kutti Nambi, who finally married Chiruthaikutti the sister of Othēnan had to complain to her on one occasion about her brother. Whether it was the charms of Chirutha or the charms of Othenan that tempted Kutti Nambi to form the alliance, the song is silent. We shall leave the solution of that problem to the research student who has much to learn from these ballads, of the history, custom and society of the Nayars of North Malabar. In Malabar, every community has its store of folksongs, Nayars, Thiyyas, Vālans, Pāṇans, Pulluvas, Pulayas, Malayars and all. In spite of the interplay of old and new modes of thought among all classes of people, these songs still pulsate in the rhythm of their social and family lives. There is the nursery in which all of us are reared. "Thanks to an old fashioned nurse", says Mr. Marrett "there in the nursery we come in contact with the under-world of pleasant folk-lore. These old time values retain their spell. These values grow up with us and in variously transmuted forms enrich adult life, quickening the sense of wonder, the spirit of adventure and the love of simple and vital things".

But, unless we are on the look-out, and try to appreciate the value of these songs and dances, and make an earnest effort to see that these are not lost to us, we and those who

come after us shall be able to enjoy the arcadian, blissful life of which these folksongs form an integral part, only, if at all, in rare and out-of-the-way bocks. Many influences are conspiring to belittle folksongs, to ruthlessly kill them. The call of the city is, perhaps an economic call ; and unless and until we reconstruct our villages, the lure of the city will be constant and tempting. In Europe and America, people have found out by actual experience that the enchantment of the city life is after all only an illusion which distance creates. But here we have yet to learn that dear lesson. Again a perversion, the mentality of the machine age, due to the dominance of the industrial era, these have contributed to a considerable degree to the lamentable neglect of folksongs. We think it beneath our dignity, the high-brows at any rate do, to resort to those to enliven our gloomy days. Now a-days we have music to order. There is the harmful harmonium, there is the grating gramophone I enter here and now, my emphatic protest against the introduction of harmonium into the musical world. Has it not supplanted the Veeṇa that adorns the hands of the Goddess of Music? It drowns the beautiful human voice. It kills harmony. It enslaves one as a drug as Dr. Arnold Bake rightly remarks ; and those addicted to it, and who is not, try to create concord in a dingy room instead of singing like a lark 'under the canopy of the sky, in the freedom of the air'.

It is high time we make an exhaustive collection of our folk-songs, dances and games. For, please take my word for it, and I am sufficiently supported by competent authority, they alone create a constant stream of inspiration essential " for the rejuvenation of a nation's creative genius, for the resuscitation of its national culture and for its spiritual development ". More than a quarter of a century ago, Mr. Charles E. Gover, published a book called the " Folk-songs of South India". In his preface to that work, he deplores the lamentable negligence shown by the Malayalis in collecting and collating them. " There is a great mass of noble ballads and songs " he says " ready to hand in Malayalam folk Literature. But total neglect has fallen upon it... ....It has not had a chance of obtaining the notice it so richly deserves". In a similar strain the late Mr. Tatakanaran writes in his " Comparative Study of English and Malayalam ". " No antiquarian has yet arisen among the people endowed with the necessary earnestness of purpose, intensity of interest, and sufficiency of means and influence

to attempt a complete or even a partial collection of these ballads of Kerala". Believe me when I say and I say it with sorrow and emphasis, that it will be a national misfortune if our folk-songs and indigenous dances and 'the priceless tradition connected with them' are permitted to die. An artist's style to be catching must be national. Look at Madhusuden Dutt : he tried to imitate the English style, and so he is remembered to-day only by the curio-hunter. But take our Tagore, who is national to the core ; he has become a classic in his life-time. As. Mr. G. S. Dutt remarks, "For the renaissance and growth of the poetical, lyrical and musical genius, we have to seek inspiration at first hand from the storehouse of our folk-songs, folk-music and folk-lore". I appeal to the educated men and women of Kerala to work for the collection and popularisation of these. They will then be doing a great patriotic work. Let them see these introduced in our schools. "Our system of education is too cosmopolitan", said the late Mr. Cecil Sharp 25 years ago ; "it is calculated to produce citizens of the world rather than English citizens How can this be remedied? Let every child be put in possession of those which are the peculiar products of his race. The first and foremost, the mother-tongue. Then there are the tales, legends and proverbs. Finally the folksongs, the simple ditties that, like wild flowers, have sprung from the heart of the people. The introduction of folk-songs will not only affect the life of England, it will greatly tend also to arouse that love of country and pride of race, the absence of which we now deplore". I can hear the cry of the modern educational experts. "Out with your nursery rhymes. We want more science". But this cry has not affected the hoary, sacred edifices of learning in Europe and America. Let us say decisively like the people there that we are no machines. More of Science does not mean less of letters. We want more of letters to keep up humane. If more science is to mean less of light, of faith and of joy, of fresh air and music we shall not have that sort of science. That is all. Let us thus stand firm by our folksongs. "Their very existence under adverse conditions for such a length of time reveals a power of sheer endurance, and the hold they have on the national mind." A loving touch will again engender [illegible] life in them and an access of growth and a glorious [illegible].

NARAYANA BHATTAPADA.

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Kerala has, in all ages, been the chosen home of Sanskrit culture. The only other part of India that can in any way be compared with it, in this respect, is Kashmir. This land of Sriparasurama has preserved intact several customs and institutions of ancient India, swept away by the tides of time elsewhere. The manuscript libraries which it possesses are some of the most valuable in all Bharatavarsha, and it is from the contributions made by them that the Travancore Government have been able to bring to light such works of intestimable worth as Skandasvamin's Bhashya on the Rksamhita, Kautalya's Arthasastra, Visvarupa's Balakrida on Yajnavalkyasmrti, Dakshinavartanatha's Pradipa on Meghasandesa, Mahimabhatta's Vyaktiviveka, Mahendravikrama's Mattavilasa, and last, but not least, the thirteen plays attributed to Bhasa, to mention only a few among the one hundred and odd volumes of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. As has been aptly said, it is the unexpected that often happens, and the great Mahayana work, Aryamanjusrimulakalpa, included in this series, has been of signal help to that distinguished orientalist, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in the reconstruction of a period of Hindu History hitherto considered wholly unfathomable. Mr. Jayaswal has generously acknowledged the light that he has been able to derive from this source even recently when he presided over the eighth Oriental Conference at Baroda. The Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts in Travancore, which has already achieved so much, has even a more brilliant future before it, if the Government will but continue to advance its interests with the same parental solicitude that they have done in the past.

The indigenous Brahmans of Kerala, known as Namputiris, have been the main repositories of this time-honoured culture, and from generation to generation they have maintained that sacred lamp in ever-increasing effulgence. With the advent of education on western lines in the country, a different era has commenced, but it is needless to advert to it in this connection. Three stars of the very first magnitude in the firmament of letters have shone in that community in the past, *viz.,* Sankara, the great Advaitachrya,

than whom perhaps the world has not produced a mightier intellectual giant, Prabhakara, the well-known founder of the Purvamimamsa system of Philosophy that goes by his name, and Narayana Bhattaprada (Bhattatiri), the distinguished poet and grammarian, about whom I propose to make some observations in the present paper. Several other luminaries of remarkable brilliance have also risen among them, such as Lilasuka, the author of Srikrishnakarnamrta, Laksmidasa, the author of Sukasandesa, Vasudeva, the author of Yudhishthiravijaya and other Yamakakavyas, Damodara of Kakkasseri, the author of Vasumativikrama, and Purnasarasvati, the Mallinatha of Kerala; but their place is subordinate to that of the three mentioned before. Two of Narayana's works, Narayaniya, the devotional poem in praise of Mahavishnu, and the 'Mana' section of Manameyodya, have already been published as Nos. 18 and 19 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, while three other works, the Champus entitled Svahasudhakara and Kotiviraha, and the treatise on Vyakarana, Dhatukavya, have come out in the Bombay Kavyamala Series. The most important work of Bhattapada, Prakriyasarvasva, is at present in course of publication in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, the first volume having already been printed as No. 106. The Unadisutra section of this work has been recently published by the Madras University.

A little to the north of the ancient Vaishnavite shrine of Tirunavai on the banks of the Bharatappuzha (*Nila*) in the Malabar District, eulogised in the Vaishnavite Tamil Devotional songs of Nammalvar and Tirumankaalvar, there is a small temple known as Chandanakkavu consecrated to Bhagavati. About a miles to the east of that temple there flourised of old a Namputiri illam (house), by name Melputtur, which is now extinct, having merged in the Maravancheri Tekketattu illam. Narayana Bhattapada, the subject of our sketch, was born in the Melputtur illam in 735 M. E./1559-60 A. D., as the son of Matrdatta Bhattatiri. Matrdatta was a well-known Mimamsaka of his time, and his house was a *gurukula* for imparting instruction in that Sastra. It is worthy of note in this connection that Purvamimamsa found support in Kerala from very early times, and the tradition is that it had the honour of a visit from Kumarilabhatta himself. Narayana's mother was a daughter of Payyur illam which, for some generations, produced Mimamsakas of the highest order. In the first half of the

15th century of the Christian era, there lived a renowned *Sarvatantrasvatantra* in that illam in the person of one who is venerated as a *Maharshi* by his contemporaries. His son, Paramesvara Bhattatiri, was the author of Jaiminiyasutrarthasangraha and other Purvamimamsa works.

Though born and brought up in such inspiring environments, Narayana, until about sixteen years of age, could not pick up anything more than the rudiments of Sanskrit. He led a lazy and wayward life, much to the disappointment of his parents, until one day by chance he met Achyuta Pisharoti of Trikkantiyur, the most distinguished Jyautishika of his generation and an acknowledged authority on Vyakarna, Ayurveda and other branches of knowledge. Narayana had a yonuger brother by name Matrdatta, and when both of them went up to Katavallur for an examination in the Vedas, the latter alone was declared successful by the authorities. This incident had occurred some time before the youth met Pisharoti, and repentance from that moment had begun to work a vital change in his mental outlook. The following verse is said to have been presented to Pisharoti by Bhattatiri at their first meeting :

मग्नं महामोहमये महाब्धौ मन्दं महात्मन्! ममताकुलेन ।
कृपापयोधे! मनसोद्धराशु कृत्वोडुपं ज्ञानमयं प्रपन्नम् ॥

Pisharoti, who was an Ampalavasi by caste, and who, being a neighbour, was a friend of Bhattatiri's father, after putting certain questions to the young man, was satisfied that his natural gifts were extraordinary, and that, under proper training and guidance, they were sure to lead him up to limitless heights of fame. He then began to teach him Vyakarana, and within the next ten years Bhattatiri secured unrivalled proficiency not only in that department of learning, but also in numerous others, sitting at the feet of several teachers of eminence. At the conclusion of his Prakriyasarvasava the poet mentions some of these teachers in the verse quoted below :

मीमांसादि स्वतातान्निगममविकलं माधवाचार्यवर्यात्
तर्कं दामोदराख्यादपि पदपदवीमच्युतार्याद् बुधेन्द्रात् ।
तेषां कारुण्ययोगात् किमपि च कवितामाप्नुवं; कार्यमेतद्
भूयात् कृष्णार्पणं मे भवतु च सततं धीरघारेः कथायाम् ॥

Four teachers are mentioned in this verse, his own father who taught him Mimamsa, etc., Madhava Veda,

Damodara Tarka, and Achyuta Vyakarana. We know nothing, unfortunately, about Madhava or Damodara, although some say that Madhava was a Tamil Brahmin, to whose house in Choladesa both Bhattatiri and Pisharoti went and studied the Vedas together. Bhattatiri is also known to have married a lady of this Pisharoti's family, who is referred to as Svati, as probably having been born under that star, in some of his stray Sringara verses, one of which I excerpt:

अन्तः स्वाति! मुहुः स्मरामि तव तानास्वादधौताधरा-

नास्विन्नानसहायपाणिकमलप्रारब्धमुग्धाञ्जलीन् ।

गण्डान्दोलितकुण्डलान् कबरिकाषण्डभ्रमत्षट्पदान्

कण्ठान्तर्विलसत्कपोतनिनदान् कन्दर्पवीरोत्सवान् ॥

Although the poet had several teachers, he venerated Achyuta more than even his own father. When that teacher fell ill in 799 M. E/1624 A. D., he attended his sick bed, recited with him the following appropriate verse occurring in Singabhupa's Rasarnavasudhakara:

काये सीदति कण्ठरोधिनि कफे कुण्ठे च वाणीपथे

जिह्वायां दृशि जीविते जिगमिषौ श्वासे शनैः शाम्यति ।

आगत्य स्वयमेव नः करुणया कात्यायनीकामुकः

कर्णे वर्णयताद् भवार्णवभयादुत्तारकं.................. ॥

a few moments before his expiry, and when he found that Pisharoti could not proceed further owing to extreme weakness, completed the verse by the recital of the word तारकम्, thereby securing the good fortune of imparting *Tarakopadesa* to his guru at the time of his demise. He also composed the following *Charamasloka* in memory of Achyuta:

हे शब्दागम! निर्दयं विबुधताल्लब्धैर्निपीडिष्यसे

धाष्टर्यैकप्रवणासि वैचसरणे! नष्टोऽस्यलङ्कार! भोः ।

हन्त ज्योतिषतन्त्र! पर्यवसिता तिथ्यृक्षयोस्ते कथा

विद्यात्मा स्वरसर्पदद्य भवतामाधारभूरच्युतः ॥

By 762 M. E./1586 A. D., Bhattatiri had become not only an expert in several Sastras and particularly in Vyakarana, but also a poet of transcendent eminence. It was then that he was afflicted with an acute attack of rheumatism, and finding that medical succour was of no avail, he proceeded to the sacred Srikrishna shrine of Guruvayur, now so well-known all over India in connection with the recent temple-entry satyagraha movement, to offer worship there. Even

at the present day, worship in this temple is believed to be a sure remedy for rheumatism, and many *Astika* patients do derive real benefit from such worship. Bhattatiri repaired to that shrine with his younger brother Matrdatta, already referred to, in the month of Chingam (August-September) in 762 M. E., and worshiped Srikrishna for a hundred days, composing ten verses each day in praise of the Deity and dictating them to Matrdatta who acted as his scribe. Matrdatta himself was a poet and scholar of no mean order, and his Bhaktisamvardhanasataka is a work of more than common merit. The work was completed on the 28th day of Vrichikam of that year. This is the great Narayaniya, a stotra called by that name both because it sings the glory of and is sung by Narayana,—the noblest work India has produced in Sanskrit in the field of devotional poetry. I assert this with due regard to the undoubted merits of works like Muka's Panchasati, Vedantadesika's Padukasahasra and Venkatadhvarin's Lakshmisahasra in which, from the very circumscribed nature of the subject matter, its treatment cannot help becoming monotonous. Naryaniya, on the other hand, is a highly embellished epitome of the incidents narrated in the Srimadbhagavatapurana, which is beyond question the loftiest work in the sacred literature of the Hindus from the devotional point of view. Every trait of the poet's incomparable genius shines at its best in this marvellous work of art, and the joy that it affords alike to the *Bhavuka* and the *Bhakta* is not for words to describe. The poem is not known even in South India to anything like the extent it ought to be, and it behoves the Government of Travancore to publish a cheap reprint of the text at least in Devanagari and make it available to devotees of every class of society throughout India.

One of the peculiar excellences of Bhattatiri as a poet is that he is equally at home in the Vaidarbhi and Gaudi styles of composition. The following from the Rasakrida section is a specimen of his Vaidarbhi style :

केशपाशधृतपिञ्छिकाविततिसञ्चलन्मकरकुण्डलं
हारजालवनमालिकाललितमङ्गरागघनसौरभम् ।
पीतचेलधृतकाञ्चिकाञ्चितमुदञ्चदंशुमणिनूपुरं
रासकेलिपरिभूषितं तव हि रूपमीश कलयामहे ॥
वेणुनादकृततानदानकलगानरागगतियोजना-
लोभनीयमृदुपादपातकृततालमेलनमनोहरम् ।

पाणिसंक्वणितकङ्कणं च मुहुरंसलम्बितकराम्बुजं
श्रोणिबिम्बचलदम्बरं भजत रासकेलिरसडम्बरम् ॥

These verses may be profitably compared with those composed in the Gaudi style in the Narasimhavathara section quoted below :

तप्तस्वर्णसवर्णघूर्णदतिरूक्षाक्षं सटाकेसर-
प्रोत्कम्पप्रतिकुम्बिताम्बरमहो जीयात् तवेदं वपुः ।
व्यात्तव्याप्तमहादरीसखमुखं खड्गोग्रवल्गन्महा-
जिह्वानिर्गमदृश्यमानसुमहादंष्ट्रायुगोड्डामरम् ॥

उत्सर्पद्वलिभङ्गभीषणहनुं ह्रस्वस्थवीयस्तर-
ग्रीवं पीवरदोश्शतोद्गतनखक्रूरांशुदूरोल्बणम् ।
व्योमोल्लङ्घिघनाघनोपमघनप्रध्वाननिर्धावित-
स्पर्धालुप्रकरं नमामि भवतस्तन्नारसिंहं वपुः ॥

"The sound must seem an echo to the sense" said Pope, and in each of the above illustrations, that echo is full to overflowing. As an instance of the mellifluousness of Bhattatiri's diction, the following verses describing the arrival of Uddhava at Gokula may be cited :

सायं स गोपभवनानि भवच्चरित्र-
गीतामृतप्रसृतकर्णरसायनानि ।
पश्यन् प्रमोदसरितेव किलोह्यमानो
गच्छन् भवद्भवनसन्निधिमन्वयासीत् ॥

तावद् ददर्श पशुदोहविलोकलोलं
भक्तोत्तमागतिमिव प्रतिपालयन्तम् ।
भूमन्! भवन्तमयमग्रजवन्तमन्त-
र्ब्रह्मानुभूतिरससिन्धुमिवोद्वमन्तम् ॥

The poet's unique powers of condensation may be seen from the verse quoted below, wherein the teachings of the Bhagavadgita are compressed in a nut-shell :

जिष्णोस्त्वं कृष्ण! सूतः खलु समरमुखे बन्धुघाते दयालुं
खिन्नं तं वीक्ष्य वीरं किमिदमयि सखे! नित्य एकोऽयमात्मा ।

को वध्यः कोऽत्र हन्ता तदिह वधभयं प्रोज्झ्य मय्यर्पितात्मा
धर्म्यं युद्धं चरेति प्रकृतिमनयथा दर्शयन् विश्वरूपम् ॥

In more than one place the poet passionately emphasises his partiality for Mahavishnu and even cites Sankarabhagavatpada, the Smarta Advaitist, as a witness for the position taken up by him :—

श्रीशङ्करोऽपि भगवान् सकलेषु तावत्
त्वामेव मानयति; यो नहि पक्षपाती ।
त्वन्निष्ठमेव स हि नामसहस्रकादि
व्याख्यद् भवत्स्तुतिपरश्च गतिं प्रपेदे ॥

Bhattatiri had no false notions about the eternal superiority of his own caste. Finding that in his time the Brahman had fallen from his high state, he does not hesitate to condem him as follows·

स्त्रीशूद्रास्त्वत्कथादिश्रवणविरहिता आसतां ते दयार्हा-
स्त्वत्पादासन्नयातान् द्विजकुलजनुषो हन्त शोचाम्यशान्तान् ।
वृत्त्यर्थं ते यजन्तो बहुकथितमपि त्वामनाकर्णयन्तो
दृप्ता विद्याभिजात्यैः किमु न विदधते तादृशं मा कृथा माम् ॥

I now leave this sweet poem with regret and proceed. Even some time prior to the composition of Narayaniya, Bhattatiri had begun to write his Champukavyas. He engaged himself in this congenial occupation at odd intervals for many years, and as many as thrity works of that type from his pen have come down to us. The most important among them are, besides Svahasudhakara and Kotiviraha already referred to, Panchalisvayamvara Nalayanicharita, Subhadraharana, Rajasuya, Kaunteyashtaka, Kirata and Dutavakya, all based on episodes in the Mahabharata, Matsyavatara and Nrgamoksha dealing with incidents in the Srimadbhagavata, Dkashayajna and Tripuradahana touching events in the Sivapurana, Surpanakhapralapa relating to Ramayana, Ashtamichampu which is a description of the Kartikai Ashtami festival in the Vaikam temple dedicated to Siva in North Travancore, and Gosrinagaravarnana which is a description of the town of Cochin in his time. Surely Bhattatiri has composed more Champus than any other poet in India. His intimate acquaintance

with Purvamimamsa is exhibited in Rajasuya, his imaginative power in Subhadraharana, and his keen sense of observation in Astamichampu and Gosrinagaravarnana. Among the more famous Champukavyas in Sanskrit, Bhojadeva's Ramayana is noted for *rasa*, Anantabhatta's Bharata for *ullekha*, Trivikramabhatta's Nalachampu for *slesha*, and Nilakanthadikshita's Nilakanthavijaya for humour. Bhattatiri combines in his works all these poetic excellences, and his champus form a unique treat in themselves. Several of these works were composed at the instance of an elder contemporary and intimate friend of his, Ittiravi Chakkiyar (Ravinartaka) of Kutiancheri, who was himself a poet of merit, as his Mudrarakshasakathasara published in the Calcutta Oriental Series will testify. Chakkiyarkuttu, in which is included the exposition of Itihasas and Puranas, is a survival of the Sutapravachana institution of ancient India. It now flourishes only in Kerala, where it is seen to have been in existence even in the earily centuries of the Christian era, as revealed by a reference in the ancient Tamil classical work, Chilappatikaram. Chakkiyars form a section of the Ampalavasi community whose hereiditary profession is the performance of plays and the exposition of Itihasas and Puranas in Hindu temples. Ittiravi Chakkiyar was desirous of securing fresh Prabandhas for the success of his profession and Bhattatiri more than satisfied his desire. Surpanakhapralapa was one of the earliest Champus of the author. It is a Niranunasikaprabandha, *i. e.*, it contains no nasal letters, since it is the complaint of Surpanakha to Ravana after Lakshmana cut off her nose at Panchavati. Ravinartaka was a Chakkiyar of great natural gifts, and tradition has it that when he had to explain the passage "हा हा राक्षसराज ! दुष्प-रिभवग्रस्तस्य धिक् ते भुजाः" occurring in that Champu, although Bhattairi had to use भुजाः instead of भुजान्, because the latter would not be a Niranunasika word, the Chakkiyar explained its appropriateness by saying that the arms of Ravana could only be mentioned in the feminine and not in the masculine gender, because they were so powerless against Srirama.

I shall now quote a few passages—verse and prose—from these Champus to show how eminent a Champukara Bhattatiri is. When Yudhishthira was asked who he and his brothers were when they went to the court of Drupada on the occasion of Panchalisvayamvara, he had to preserve

his *incognito* and at the same time to speak the truth. Both these objects are achieved by reciting the following verse:

धर्मात् ख्याततमे द्विजाधिपकुले जातोऽहमेषा च मे
 माता पावनजन्मतामभिवहन् नन्वेष मे सोदरः ।
किञ्चाखण्डलसत्प्रमोदजनको भ्राता ममायं परो
 नासत्योदितमत्र विद्धि सहजद्वन्द्वं ममैतावपि ॥

The following verse from Dutavakya describes Srikrishna's anger when Duryodhana ordered his imprisonment on the delivery of his fateful message before the great war :

तावद् देवस्य देहाज्झटिति पटुतडित्कोटिवत्ताडिताक्षः
 संहारोन्निद्ररुद्रस्फुटनिटिलशिखिज्वालजालप्रकाशः ।
कल्पान्तक्रूरसूरोत्करकिरणसमाहारघोरः समन्ता-
 दारुन्धानः सभां तां निरपतदतुलः कोऽपि तेजस्समूहः ॥

The verse quoted below from Ashtamichampu is a description of Sri Rama :

वैदेहीपीनतुङ्गस्तनभरयुगलीगाढगाढाङ्कपाली-
 केलीसम्मर्दमिश्रीकृतघुसृणलसच्चारुदोरन्तरालः ।
कौसल्याभाग्यसीमा वलमथनमणिश्यामलः कोमलाङ्गः
 कश्चित् सच्चिन्मधूलीरसनवलहरीस्यन्दगन्धः समिन्धे ॥

Trayi (Veda) is described as a *Nayika* in the following verse from Matsyavatara :

उद्यत्ताराभिरामां विधिमयवदनालक्ष्यकामानुबन्धां
 सोऽयं प्रौढार्थवादप्रचयकचभरां चारुमन्त्रानुलापाम् ।
गूढाद्वैतप्रदेशात्मकगुरुजघनामुल्लसत्पादशोभा-
 मापूर्णाङ्गीं त्रिवेदीसुदृशमपहरन् पूर्णकामो बभूव ॥

The Gadya quoted below from Subhadraharana describing the growth of Subhadra's love towards Arjuna illustrates Bhattatiri's matchless power of psychological analysis :

सुभद्रा तु बाल्य एव गदनिगादितपार्थप्रभावश्रवणकन्दलितकौतुकरसा, वृष्णीनामप्यर्जुनो न मे तुल्य इति वीरवादान्, अर्जुनतुल्यगुणो भवेति बाल-

जनाशीर्वादान्, कृष्णस्यापि तत्तत्प्रसङ्गेषु प्रियसखगुणवर्णनान्युपशृण्वती, क्रमेण सखीजनानुयोजितकौरुजाङ्गलजनवाचा तत्त्वतोनिशामिततदीयरूपमाधुर्या, मुहुर्मुहुः श्रवणात् प्रत्यक्षमिव तं निरीक्षमाणा, तारुण्यश्रिया लावण्यविलासैश्च सहैव दिनेदिने परिवर्धमानमनोभवखेदा, पुनरकाण्डे हलधरस्य सुयोधनप्रदानाभिलाषप्रसङ्गमाकर्ण्य तप्तजलसिक्ता, निदाघकालबालमालतीव दुरन्तसन्तापदन्दह्यमाना, ततः स्वयंवर एव सर्वाभिमत इत्युपश्रुत्य किमपि समाश्वस्तचित्ता, तदनन्तरं च पार्थस्य तीर्थयात्रावृत्तं निशम्य तत इतस्तदुदन्तान्वेषिणी, सर्वथासौ प्रियसखमनालोक्य न यास्यतीति कलितविलोकनाभिनिवेशा, पुनरपरान्तगमनात् परं तदुदन्तमवेदयन्ती, गतो वेति विचिन्त्य महाखेदमनुभवन्ती, सामयिकसमापतितजलदागमप्रदीपितमन्मथा, त्वत्कुशलकाङ्क्षी फल्गुनप्रियसखः कंसहन्तैव ते तापहन्ता भविष्यतीति हृदयसखीभिः समाश्वास्यमाना, कथंकथमपि दिनानि निनाय ।

The Gadya extracted below from Matsyavatara describes the speedy growth of Adimatsya :

ततश्च तूलजालनिपतितबालस्फुलिङ्ग इव तरुणीजनहृदयाङ्कुरितदुर्लभरागाङ्कुर इव सुमतिजनहृदयनिहितोपदेशलेश इव तार्किकयूथविनिहितविवादलव इव सज्जनसमाचरितदुश्चरितलेश इव पिशुनमुखनिहितानिगूढवृत्त इव निमेषमात्रेण निरवधि परिवर्धमाने

In the following verse in Rajasuya Sisupala condemns Srikrishna with all the inveterate fury of an implacable enemy :

*प्रागेवासौ विसारः कचिदसुरवधे हीनसौकर्यखिन्नः
स्तम्भं प्रासः कथञ्चिद्व्यवहरत्यपरं सर्वदं तु न्यवक्नात् ।
मुन्यात्मा वीरहत्यां व्यधित निरवधिं स्वस्य दारानदोषा-
नत्याक्षीद् राघवात्मा हरिचरितमहो सर्वमेवाभिरामम् ॥

स्त्रीघ्नो गोघ्नो गुरुघ्नः खगफणिमिव्याचाकुमात्रं किलाद्रिं
पर्यास्थद् दारुमात्रं शकटमरमयद् गोपिका गव्यमोषी ।
ब्राह्मण्यं मागधं तं मुहुरपकृतवांस्तद्व्याहायदेशा-
नादिक्षन् देवि लोकान्मणिमनुपदहो स्तौषि दोषाकरेषान् ॥

* See the fine *slesha* in this verse.

An elephant by name Chandrasekharan was attached to the Vaikam temple in Bhattatiri's time and the animal is thus described in Ashtamichampu :

अतिविकटकरटोपान्तनितान्तवान्तमदजलधारासारतरलचञ्चलीकसञ्चय-कलनिनदमुखरितककुभं, चलाचलकर्णतालयुगलान्दोललीलावधूतललितकर्ण-चामरमण्डितगण्डमण्डलघणघणायमानघण्टायुगलपरिष्कृतबन्धुरकन्धरम्, अत्यु-ज्जृम्भमाणमदभराभोगपरिघूर्णमानविपुलनयनान्तम्, अत्यायतदन्तमुसलच्छलेन निखिलदन्तावलमदकन्दलोन्मूलनकुद्दालद्वितयमिव दधानं, विविधकिङ्किणी-निनदव्याजेन सकलकरिकुलविजयघोषमिवोद्घाटयन्तं, विवर्तमिव पुष्कलावर्त-कानां, परिणाममिव कुलगिरीणां, विभ्रमसर्वस्वमिवाभ्रमुवल्लभस्य, जन्मान्तर-मिव दिङ्मातङ्गानां, व्यत्यासमिवाञ्जनशैलस्य, मस्तकाग्रालङ्कृताभिः सुवर्ण-मयीभिः शशिकलाभिर्निजनामधेयमिव यथार्थमातन्वानं, चन्द्रशेखरं नाम कमपि गन्धसिन्धुरमधिरुरोह ।

Bhattatiri describes the Portuguese whom he found in Cochin in the following words in Gosrinagaravarnana :

श्यामधवलशोणरुचिदीप्रतरकूर्पासैराप्रपदीननिगूहितगात्रतया प्रावृड-म्भोदैः शारदाम्भोदैः सन्ध्याम्भोदैश्च सम्भूय कुम्भिनीतले सम्भ्रमाद्भिरिव दृश्यमानैः नितम्बबिम्बलम्बितकरालकरवालतया स्कन्धदेशलम्बमानदन्दशूक-भीमरूपचन्दनद्रुमायमाणतुङ्गपाण्डुविग्रहैः कुञ्जगर्भदृश्यमानपक्वपृथुलदाडिमी-फलायमानैः कञ्चुकान्तकिञ्चिदवेक्षणीयविपाण्डुरवदनबिम्बैः पारसीकलोकैः सञ्चरिष्णुभिरुपरुध्यमाननिखिलमार्गे

The poet reveals his marvellous knowledge of Vyakarana and Mimamsa in several portions of these works. Two typical verses are quoted below, the first from Panchalisvayamvara and the second from Matsyavatara :

येषामयं शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तेषामहो द्वन्द्वसमुत्सुकानाम् ।
द्रागेकवद्भावमसौ विधास्यन्नन्धो नृपः शाब्दिकवद् बभासे ॥

इत्थमयमङ्गविस्तृतिमतिदेशव्याप्तिमखिलबाधं च ।
प्रथयञ्छबरस्वामी शबरस्वामीव लक्षितो लोकैः ॥

One more poetical work of Bhattatiri may be referred to in this connection. It is Sripadasaptati, a poem in

seventy verses of the Sardulavikridita metre, composed in praise of Mukkolaikkal Bhagavati (Parvati) in Cochin State, where the poet appears to have spent the evening of his life. The work is an exhibition of Bhattatiri's remarkable gifts as an *Ullekhakara.* Two verses from the poem are extracted below :—

त्वत्पादाञ्चलरूपकल्पलतिकाबालप्रवालद्वयं
ये तावत् कलयन्ति जातु शिरसा नम्रेण कम्रोज्ज्वलम् ।
तेषामेव हि देवि ! नन्दनवनक्रीडासु लभ्यं पुनः
स्वर्वल्लीतरुणप्रवालभरणं; सेवानुरूपं फलम् ॥

आनम्रस्य पुरद्रुहः शिरसि ते पादाब्जपातः शिवे !
जीयाद् येन बभूव पङ्कजवती मौलिस्रवन्ती क्षणम् ।
किञ्चोदञ्चितबालपल्लववती जाता जटावल्लरी
लाक्षापातवशेन सान्ध्यसुषमासान्द्रा च चान्द्री कला ॥

Uttararamacarita, a Kavya in six Sargas, is also attributed to Bhattatiri, though not on adequate data. The poet has written an exhaustive commentary on the verse beginning with "पुष्पोद्भेद" in Amarukasataka, showing his extraordinary proficiency in Alankara.

Bhattatiri, in the course of his peregrinations, appears to have visited the courts of the Zamorin of Calicut, Virakeralavarma, King of Cochin from 776 to 790 M. E., whose oounger brother, Kochunni Tampuran, was a particular friend £f the poet, Godavarma Raja of Vatakkumkur, which principality has since merged in Travancore, and Puratam Tirunal Raja of Chempakasseri (Ampalappuzha), which has also shared a similar fate. The following verses are in praise of Virakeralavarma :

चित्रं भोस्त्वच्चरित्रं नरवर ! तव नन्वभ्यमित्रीणयात्रा-
वार्तामात्रादमित्राः शिव शिव ! चलिताः प्राज्यमुत्सृज्य राज्यम् ।
जीवन्त्येते कथञ्चित् किल पुनरधुना सङ्गतास्तुङ्गतुङ्ग-
क्ष्माभृत्कूटे कुटीरीकृतविटपिमहाकोटरा माटराज ! ॥

श्वेतीकुर्वति सर्वतस्त्रिजगतीं त्वत्कीर्तिपूरेऽधुना
माटक्ष्मावर ! सत्यमापणजुषां भूयान् विषादोदयः ।
रत्नानि स्फटिकीकृतानि; कनकैः संप्राप्यते रूप्यता
याता च प्रचुरा दुकूलपटली धौताम्बराडम्बरम् ॥

The following verse praises Godavarma Raja of Vatakkumkur :

त्वद्धाम्ना काञ्चनाद्रौ द्रवति सुरगणाः प्रापुरार्ता विरिञ्चं
सोऽयं प्रागेव शम्भुं शरणमुपगतः पङ्कजम्लानिखिन्नः ।
शम्भुः प्रागेव यातो रजतगिरिविनाशाकुलः पद्मनाभं
सोऽपि क्षीराब्धिशोषादवशमतिरगात् त्वन्मनीषां विशालाम् ॥

The Raja of Chempakasseri, a Namputiri Brahman, was a distinguished scholar and patron of letters himself, and owing to the generous consideration shown to him, the poet lived in his court for some years. The following verses are in praise of this ruler :

गोत्राभ्युद्वहनोद्धुरस्य महता चक्रेण कृत्ताद्विषो
लक्ष्मीं वाचमपि प्रियां कलयतः स्थास्नोर्द्विजेन्द्रोपरि ।
भूयः शूरकुलैकभूषणमणेर्देवेन नारायणे-
नैक्यं निश्चितमेव निश्चलधृते ! ते देवनारायण ! ॥

संरुद्धे देवनारायणनृप ! भवता नास्तिकानां प्रचारे
त्वत्सेना हन्त चार्वाकवदयि परलोकोदयं खण्डयन्ति ।
कान्तारे वैरिणस्ते क्षपणकजनवत् सप्तभङ्गीं भजन्ते
तेषां राज्ये च ही ही सुगतमत इव श्रूयते शून्यवादः ॥

Devanarayana is the generic designation of the Rajas of Chempakaseri. It was at the court of Devanarayana that Bhattatiri composed his *magnum opus*, Prakriyasarvasva, and established his name as a *Vaiyakarana*. The Vyakarana generally studied in Kerala in former days was the Rupavatara of Dharmakirti, until it was ousted by the Prakriyakaumudi of Ramachandra, who lived in the 14th century A. D. Ramachandra is referred to with respect by Achyuta Pisharoti in his Pravesaka, a grammatical primer composed by him. Battatiri, on being presented to the Raja of Chempakasseri, prayed for his longevity in the following verse which revealed his proficiency in Vyakarana :

अव्यञ्जनस्ताक्ष्र्यकेतुर्यत् पदं घटयिष्यति ।
तत् ते भवतु कल्पान्तं देवनारायण ! प्रभो ! ॥

whereupon the Raja became so pleased with him that he asked him to write a new Vyakarana. This fact has been mentioned by the poet in the introductory verses to Prakriya-sarvasva, quoted below :

सोऽथ कदाचन राजा
स्वगुणैराकृष्य सन्निधिं नीतम् ।
श्रीमातृदत्तसूनुं
नारायणसंज्ञमशिषदवनिसुरम् ॥

वृत्तौ चारु न रूपसिद्धिकथनं रूपावतारे पुनः
कौमुद्यादिषु चात्र सूत्रमखिलं नास्त्येव तस्मात् त्वया ।
रूपानीतिसमस्तसूत्रसहितं स्पष्टं मितं प्रक्रिया-
सर्वस्वाभिहितं निबन्धनमिदं कार्यं मदुक्ताध्वना ॥

It was with a view to avoid the defects in previous grammatical works such as Kasikavrtti, Rupavatara and Prakriyakaumudi that the Raja ordered Bhattatiri to compose a new Vyakarana in twenty khandas or sections, and in doing so gave him definite instructions as to how the work should be executed. Perspicuity and brevity were to be the cardinal features of Prakriyasarvasva. Bhattatiri composed the whole work within the incredibly short space of sixty days. This was in 792 M. E., when the poet was about 57 years of age. The satisfaction of the claims of clarity and condensation at one and the same time was a difficult feat, but the poet was more than equal to it.

In the composition of this work Bhattatiri was no slave to precedent. He found that certain grammatical forms not approved by the three Munis (Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali) had the support of Vaiyakaranas like Bhoja, the author of Sarasvatikamthabharana, that Panini, after all, represented only one, though no doubt the most widely-accepted, school of thought in that branch of learning, and that some usages of great writers could be justified only on the authority of non-Paniniya grammarians. To cite an instance, Visrāma is a word which has been used by both Bhavabhuti and Murari, two great Pandita poets, although Kasikavrtti condemns it as incorrect. Bhattatiri naturally does not accept the verdict of Kasika in the matter and proceeds to observe ;

विश्रामस्यापशब्दत्वं[1] वृत्त्युक्तं नाद्रियामहे ।
मुरारिभवभूत्यादीन् न प्रमाणीकरोति कः ? ॥

This eclectic attitude of the poet brought down upon him the ire of some of his contemporaries, especially outside Kerala, although Bhattoji Dikshita, the author of Siddhanta-kaumudi, a devoted follower of *Munitraya*, appreciated his labours and even expressed a desire to make his personal acquaintance. At the close of the work Bhattatiri says :

संक्षेपातिशयेऽपि वाच्यबहुताहेतोरभूद् विस्तरः
स्पष्टत्वेऽपि कृते स्वभावगहना भागा मनागस्फुटाः ।
एवं व्यक्तिमियान् पदार्थ इयता ग्रन्थेन यातोऽयमि-
त्येवं यो विमृशेत् स एव कलयेदस्मिन् प्रबन्धे गुणान् ॥
विद्वांसो विदितं हि सर्वमिति न द्रक्ष्यन्ति मन्दाः पुनः
प्रारभ्याधिकमार्गदर्शनपरिश्रान्ता विरंस्यन्ति च ।
अन्ये मत्सरिणः कथामपि च नो कुर्युः; किमेतैः क्षतं
यन्मद्बुद्धिविशुद्धये नरपतेर्मोदाय चेदं कृतम् ॥

One peculiar charm of the work consists in the provision of numerous Karikas to enable the student to commit rare grammatical forms to memory, as examples of which the following may be cited :

भिदेलिमानि काष्ठानि बालयोऽमी पचेलिमाः ।
छिदेलिमा जीर्णरज्जुस्तृणजालं दहेलिमम् ॥
उपलम्भ्यं त्वया राज्यमिति कर्तृस्तुतिः क्वचित् ।
सद्भिरेवोपलम्भ्योऽज इति कर्मस्तुतिः क्वचित् ॥
लाभो ज्ञानं च धात्वर्थः प्रशंसा द्योत्यते परम् ।
उपलम्भ्यः प्रशंसार्हं इत्येवाचष्ट शङ्करः ॥

The controversy between conservatives and radicals in regard to the accuracy of non-Paniniyan forms grew more and more acute as years advanced, and Bhattatiri wrote another work Apaniniyapramanyasadhana, in vindication of the position taken up by him. He says therein :

1. 'विश्रामो हृदयस्य यत्र जरसा यस्मिन्नहार्यो रसः' Uttararamacharita.
'प्रवेशविश्रामभाखिनं वाचाम्' Anargharaghava.

दृष्ट्वा शास्त्रगणान् प्रयोगसहितान् प्रायेण दाक्षीसुत-
प्रोचे; तस्य तु विच्युतानि कतिचित् कात्यायनः प्रोक्तवान् ।
तद्भ्रष्टान्यवदत् पतञ्जलिमुनिस्तेनाप्यनुक्तं क्वचि-
ल्लोकात् प्राक्तनशास्त्रतोऽपि जगदुर्विज्ञाय भोजादयः ॥
पूर्वव्याकरणादि मूलरहितं युक्त्यैव यत् साध्यते
कैश्चित् तत्र मुनित्रयप्रतिहते हेयत्वमुद्घोष्यते ।
अन्येभ्यो गुणवत्तया च बहुभिर्यद् गृह्यते नन्विदं
तस्मात् खल्वयमन्यशास्त्रमखिलं मिथ्येति विभ्राम्यति ॥

Bhattatiri's chief opponent in Choladesa was a Pandita, named Vainateya in Apaniniyapramanyasadhana. It has not yet been possible to identify him. Bhattatiri also sent his work for approval to Somesvaradikshita and Yagnanarayanadikshita of Tanjore. They were his friends and apparently supporters. Somesvara is referred to as the author of Kamadevavijaya. I have not been able to identify him either. Yagnanarayana was, of course, the chief minister of the celebrated Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore who reigned from 1614 to 1649 A. D. The Sahityaratnakara of this poet has been recently published by the Madras University. The following verses in Apaniniyapramanyasadhana refers to Yagnanarayana:

युष्मद्वैदुष्यधूतं खलु कटकभुवि त्रायते भोगिराजं
वाणीवेणीविधूतामपि सुरसरितं कङ्कतीको जटायाम् ।
इत्येवं यज्ञनारायणविबुधमहादीक्षिताः शत्रुवर्ग-
त्राणाद् देवस्य तस्याप्यपहरसि धिया साधु सार्वज्ञ्यगर्वम् ॥
युष्मास्वेव क्षितीशो विपुलनयनिधिस्तिष्ठते राज्यदृष्टौ
तिष्ठध्वे यूयमेव प्रथितबुधजने सन्दिहाने समेते ।
युष्मभ्यं तिष्ठते कश्चिदशगुरुसमानोऽपि युष्मादृगन्यः
प्रज्ञालो! यज्ञनारायणविबुधमहादीक्षिता वीक्ष्यते कः ॥
अत्रस्थाः केरलस्थाः स्वयमतिमृदवस्तत्र चाहं विशेषात्
सर्वे दूरप्रचारे खलु शिथिलधियः किं पुनर्देशभेदे ।
एवंभावेऽपि दैवात् कुहचन समये कल्यताकल्यते चेत्
प्रज्ञाब्धीन् यज्ञनारायणधरणिमहादीक्षितानीक्षिताहे ॥

From the last of these verses it may be seen that Bhattatiri had by that time become apparently too old to undertake a journey to Tanjore.

Dhatukavya is the third work on Vyakarana composed by Bhattatiri. It is made up of 248 verses in three Sargas and is a continuation of the Vasudevavijaya of Vasudevabhattatiri. At the commencement of the work the author says :

"उदाहृतं पाणिनिसूत्रमण्डलं
प्राग् वासुदेवेन तदूर्ध्वतोऽपरः ।
उदाहरत्यस्य वृकोदरोदितान्
धातून् क्रमेणैव हि माधवाश्रयात् ॥

An example of every verbal root in Sanskrit is contained in this short work in the order in which it occurs in the Dhatupatha. The work was composed in three days, apparently at Ambalappuzha. The Mana section of the Manameyodaya exhibiting the author's proficiency in Nyaya was also composed at Ampalappuzha. The Meya section was added to it by another Pandita also named Narayana who flourished in the first half of the ninth century of the Malabar era in the court of Manavedaraja of Calicut, who was himself a great *Vaiyakarana* and the author of a commentary on Prakriyasarvasva, besides Purvabharatachampu and Krishnagiti.

Several stray verses of incomparable beauty on diverse subjects composed by Bhattatiri from time to time have come down to us, some of which are quoted below. The following verses are in praise of Srikrishna of Guruvayur :

श्रुत्वा निरस्ताखिलदोषमेनं त्रिदोषशान्त्यै वयमागताः स्मः ।
अपि त्विदानीं गुरुवायुनाथं स्फुरच्चतुर्दोषममुं प्रतीमः ॥

भक्तौघेषु धृतादरां धृतदरामेकत्र हस्ताम्बुजे
पद्मौघारणपद्मधारणलसद्वक्षःकराम्भोरुहाम् ।
आत्तोदग्रसुदर्शनामपशमैर्दुर्दर्शनामद्भुत-
च्छायां कामपि वायुमन्दिरगतां ध्यायामि मायामयीम् ॥

धामानि व्याघ्रपुर्यां प्रकटितनिजभूमानि, नित्यं प्रपुष्य-
द्गङ्गासङ्गत्वराणि, क्षितिधरसुतया साधुमङ्गत्वराणि ।
एतानि स्फीतफालेक्षणदहनशिखागाढलीढस्मराणि
व्यामूढैरस्मराणि, प्रणतजनतमोघस्मराणि स्मराणि ॥

भुजगान् भुजगीकुरुषे वामीकुरुषे च वाममेवाङ्गम् ।
व्याघ्रपुरालय ! शम्भो ! कोऽयमिदानीमभूतलद्भावः ? ॥"

In the following verses the poet sings the glories of Srikrishna of Ampalappuzha (Ambaranadipura).

नालं बालमृगीदृशां कुचतटाद् व्यावर्तितुं कुत्रचि-
न्नालं वा सरसेषु काव्यसरसालापेष्वनालोचितुम् ।
लोलं मे हृदयं तथापि गगनस्रोतस्विनीसङ्गिनं
लोलम्बद्युतिलोभनीयवपुषं बालं बतालम्बते ॥

अञ्चितायतदृगञ्चलेन यश्चारु चारयति गोपिकामनः ।
एष घोषनवनीतमोषको मोमुषीतु मम शेमुषीमलम् ॥

The following are a few miscellaneous verses :

आस्तां पीयूषलाभः सुमुखि ! गरजरामृत्युहारी प्रसिद्ध-
स्तल्लाभोपायचिन्तापि च गरलजुषो हेतुरुल्लाघतायाः ।
नो चेदालोलदृष्टप्रतिभयभुजगीदष्टमर्मा मुहुस्ते
यामेवालम्ब्य जीवे कथमधरसुधामाधुरीमप्यजानन् ॥

हे रोगा ! ननु यूयमेव सुहृदो यैर्निस्पृहोऽहं कृतः
काव्यालङ्कृतितर्ककोविदसभायोगेषु भोगेषु च ।
नो चेत् कृष्णपदारविन्दभजनं वेदान्तचिन्तामपि
त्यक्त्वा श्वःश्व इति प्रमादहहहो याम्येव याम्यां पुरीम् ॥

यः कृत्वा विश्वरङ्गं रजनियवनिकाप्रोज्ज्वलद्भानुदीपं
शश्वत्सन्तुष्टसम्प्रेक्षकमखिलजगद्भ्रान्तिनाट्यं वितत्य ।
कर्मौघोद्दण्डमार्दङ्गिकलयवशगान् वासनागानसक्तान्
जीवच्छात्रान् मुकुन्दः स्वयमभिरमते क्रीडयन्, सोऽस्तु भूत्यै ।

Narayana Bhattapada, as already stated, spent his last days at Mukkolaikkal in Cochin According to tradition he passed away there at the ripe old age of 106. The only poet who, to our knowledge, lived for over a hundred years is Vedanta Desika, the great Vaishnavacharya who died when was 102 years old in 1369 A. D. Bhattatiri's active literary career must have ended by about 810 M. E. Even while alive, the poet had become an object of veneration among his country-men, as the following versos from the Bhramarasandesa of Vasudeva, who was a youger contemporary of his, go to prove :

हेरम्बेण प्रथितविभवां मातृदत्ताद्द्विजेन्द्र-
श्रीमच्छिष्योत्करमुखरितैरास्तृतां शास्त्रघोषैः ।
आरान्नारायणकविवचस्स्यन्दमाधुर्यनन्द-
द्वाणीमन्दस्मितसुरभिलां याहि पाटीरवाटीम् ॥
सूक्तं नारायणकविमुखाम्भोजनिःष्यन्दमानं
पीत्वा वापीकमलमधुषु प्राप्तनिर्वेदभारः ।
बिम्बे भानोरपरगिरिशृङ्गेण सञ्चुम्ब्यमाने
लम्बेथास्त्वं भ्रमर! धरणौ वल्लभक्षोणिबन्धोः ॥

The *Astika* Hindus of Kerala regard him as an Avatar of Adisesha. He is also believed to have received the *sakshatkara* of Srikrishna at Guruvayur, as may be seen from the following verse of Vattappalli Patchu Muttatu, who lived in the first half of the 11th century of the Malabar era, in the introduction to his commentary on Rajasuya-champu:

सर्वस्वं हृद्यपद्यव्रजमिलितिलसत्प्रक्रियं धातुकाव्यं
स्तोत्रं नारायणीयं निखिलमपि पुराणप्रकाण्डान्तरङ्गम् ।
येनातान्यप्रयासाद् गुरुपवनपुरेऽन्वक्षमैक्षिष्ट कृष्णः
सोऽमुं चम्पुं व्यभाणीत् कविकुलतिलकः केरलक्ष्मासुरेन्द्रः ॥

Bhattatiri's champus are studied and his Narayaniya recited in every home with any pretensions to traditional culture in Kerala. His Narayaniya has been imitated by Unnayi Variyar (Ramaparasava) in his Ramapanchasati and his Champus by a score of poets like Manadeva, Itavettikkat Namputiri and Asvati Tirunal Elaya Raja. His works have been the main source of inspiration to Malayalam poets like Kunchan Nampiyar. His influence on every succeeding

generation of writers has been phenomenal, and there is no doubt that the cultural debt that Kerala owes to him is inestimable. The land of Parasurama has every reason to be proud of this eminent poet, *Sastrakara* and ***Vishnubhakta***. Owing to considerations of space, it has not been possible for me to place before the readers of this Silver Jubilee Volume more facts about Bhattapada ; but enough, I believe, has been stated to give them an idea of the place that he should occupy in Sanskrit literature.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR PUBLICATION.

By Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamī Iyengar, M. A., Hony. Ph. D.

University Professor, Mysore and Madras (Retd.)

A few weeks hence the Asiatic Society of Bengal is going to celebrate the 150th year of its foundation. This event marks not merely an important stage in the history of the growth of the Society, but seems actually to mark an epoch in the intellectual and cultural history of India. The foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was symbolical of the rising interest in Asiatic culture more or less. Among the many branches of its activity, not the least has been the recovery of lost works of literature both in Indian and extra-Indian languages,

The activities of this Asiatic Society naturally evoked responses in other centres, and one of the visible signs of this activity has been the collection of manuscripts and the publication of as many of these as proved feasible in the series called *Bibliotheca Indica* etc, series. Various centres had started work, and several of them have done remarkable work, though some of them have ceased to do so. Among the more recent in this branch of activity, the most prominent place ought to be assigned to the three Hindu States of Mysore, Baroda and Travancore. The Mysore Oriental Library and the Oriental Series that it published brought out a large number of important works, and the series counts perhaps more than a hundred volumes, although, during the last decade and more, activity in this line has suffered a very considerable set back. In Baroda, they began somewhat later, but the Gaekwad's Series, which is the visible evidence of this activity, continues as yet and has been responsible for bringing out a number of very important works, although in the actual total number that does not come up to the output either of Mysore or of Travancore. Similar activity became manifest in Travancore as well and thanks to the sympathetic guidance of His Highness the late Maharaja 'Śrīmūlam Tirunāḷ of Travancore, and his successor Her Highness Mahārāṇi Sētu Lakṣmi Bai, the Series continued to do excellent work to the honour of the State, and brought

distinction of a unique character to the Pandit chiefly responsible for the publication of the series, the late Māhāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Gaṇapati 'Sāstrigal. The noble work thus begun and carried through almost the first stage of 100 works by the late Pandit, has been taken up and is being continued by his successor, Pandit Sāmbaśiva 'Sāśtrigal, under the enlightened patronage of the present Maharaja His Highness Chittirai Tirunāl. The published works have already reached, or are about to reach, the auspicious number 108 and the works brought out count among them some unique ones in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature.

A crisis threatened some years ago, and might have resulted in the cessation of this work. As a result of consultation, and, thanks to the enlightened and sympathetic policy of the Government itself, the threatened crisis passed away, and this literary work came out without scathe.

We are very pleased indeed to see the series continue. The Silver Jubilee of the foundation of this laudable effort is about to be celebrated, and in response to a request from the Curator, we have written these words with pleasure and wish this institution a long life and prosperity. The thanks of the enlightened public ought certainly to go in unbounded measure to the administration of the State and its heads, both the Mahārāṇi Regent now retired, and its young, promising ruler, the present Maharaja alike, for their steady perseverance, under even disadvantages, financial circumstances, in the continuance of this good work. "May their sacrifices be everlastingly fruitful and their liberality in a cause like this continue undiminished", is the prayer of all who wish well of the State and take a pride in the best achievements of this great land.

The country of Travancore and the neighbouring territory where the spoken language is Malayalam have been peculiarly fortunate in their freedom from the ravages of war and the consequent change of political conditions through much of their history. These invasions became more and more destructive as time advanced, and literature and literary works suffered much along with everything else. As the Muhammadan power established itself and extended gradually to occupy the whole of Hindustan, Brahmanical learning and literature had to retire to a distance for safety. South India became more and more the home of this fugitive literature. Long before this period of compulsory migration, Sanskrit had found a comfortable home in the south

for over a millennium. This migration only proved to be an additional stimulus to the development of Sanskrit learning. We have a remarkable statement in one of the Chola inscriptions dating about A. D. 1024 that the territory of Kosala which till then was regarded as not quite suitable for the residence of Brahmans had come gradually to be adopted by them for residence. This Brahmanical migration into what is now the feudatory states of Orissa and its immediate neighbourhood was the direct consequence of Mahmud of Ghazni's attack upon Kanuj. It was at that time that the great Ganagaikondachola from the south offered an asylum to the Gauda (Bengal) Brahmans flying southwards for protection by giving them homes in the various Agraharas, or Brahmin settlements, in his territory to the south of the Krishna. This state of things continued so long as the whole of the country remained more or less unsafe for Brahmans and Brahmanical learning till at last the foundation of Vijayanagar provided a safe enclave for them in the territory south of the Krishna—Tungabhadra line. With the foundation of Vijayanagar, Sanskrit learning and literary patronage generally took a new start, and all that has been preserved to us both in the field of learning and literature as well as in religion were due to this Hindu Empire more or less. Therefore the manuscript literature of South India must necessarily be vast and must consist of (1) works from Northern India, brought along with the Brahman immigrants of early times and later on with the Brahman immigration under stress of circumstances referred to above. (2) Secondly there has been a considerable stimulus to composing works in Sanskrit during the early period and perhaps to a far larger extent in the later. Therefore this falls into two classes, literature that is northern and southern in common, and literature produced in South India. The responsibility therefore lies on the South Indian to do his utmost to preserve this heritage of culture from extinction. Malabar has remained almost free from the ravage of invasions and counter invasions that the rest of the country suffered from, and the wealth of manuscript material recovered therefrom during the years when the Madras Government was making a serious effort to collect them was something really great. There is therefore vast field for work, and let us hope that the Silver Jubilee of this Institution will prove to be but the earnest of the far larger work that it is to do hereafter in its full manhood and ripe age.

VEDANTA VAKYARTHA VIVEKA.

By Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhatta Śrī Godavarma Raja Valia Raja of Cranganore.

वन्दे विश्वाधिकं रुद्रं क्षेत्रे श्रृङ्गपुराभिधे ।
ब्रह्मत्वलिङ्गभूतेन लिङ्गरूपेण संस्थितम् ॥
नमो नमो नमस्तस्मै ब्रह्मानन्दयतीन्दवे ।
प्रकाशयत्यर्थजातं शाङ्करं यस्य चन्द्रिका ॥
श्रीकोटिलिङ्गराजेन विदुषा **गोदवर्मणा** ।
सत्यमित्यादिवेदान्तवाक्यस्यार्थो विविच्यते ॥

तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्गतं 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्मे'ति वाक्यं ब्रह्मणः स्वरूपलक्षणपरम् । अतस्तद्वाक्यवाच्यार्थबोधे ब्रह्मत्वविशिष्टसत्यत्वादिविशिष्टयोरभेद इव ब्रह्मसत्यादिस्वरूपयोः शुद्धयोरप्यभेदो भासते । अन्यथा तद्वाक्यस्य शुद्धब्रह्मस्वरूपे शुद्धसत्यादिस्वरूपाद् भेदभ्रमनिवर्तकधीपरत्वाभावापत्त्या स्वरूपलक्षणपरवाक्यत्वमेव न स्यात् । स्वरूपे स्वरूपाद् भेदभ्रमनिवर्तकधीपरवाक्यस्यैव स्वरूपलक्षणपरवाक्यत्वात् । न ह्युक्तस्वरूपयोरभेदानवगाहिधीजनकत्वे तद्वाक्यस्य उक्तभेदधीनिवर्तकधीपरत्वं सम्भवति । ननूक्तस्वरूपाभेदावगाहिधीनिवर्त्योक्तभेदभ्रमः किमाकारकः । न च यत्र ब्रह्मत्वं यत्र च सत्यत्वं तत् तन्नेत्याकारकः ब्रह्मत्वोपलक्षितस्वरूपनिष्ठनिरवच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपिता या प्रतियोगितासम्बन्धावच्छिन्नधर्मानवच्छिन्नसत्यत्वोपलक्षितस्वरूपनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपितभेदत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारता तन्निरूपक इति वाच्यं, तथा सति तद्भ्रमस्य भेदांशे निर्धर्मितावच्छेदकतया तदंशे किमपि ज्ञानं न विरोधीति तद्भ्रमस्य उक्तस्वरूपाभेदावगाहिधीनिवर्त्यत्वासम्भवादिति चेदुच्यते । तादृशभेदभ्रमः प्रतियोगितासम्बन्धावच्छिन्नधर्मानवच्छिन्नसत्यत्वोपलक्षितस्वरूपनिष्ठावच्छेदकताका या भेदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यता तन्निरूपिता या ब्रह्मत्वोपलक्षितस्वरूपनिष्ठधर्मानवच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितवृत्तित्वत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारता तन्निरूपको यत्र ब्रह्मत्वं यत्र च सत्यत्वं तत्र तद्भेद इत्याकारकः नच तादृशाकारको भेदभ्रमोऽनाहार्यो न सम्भवति शुद्धघटादिस्वरूपे तत्स्वरूपाद् भेदभ्रमस्यानाहार्यस्यानुपपत्त्या शुद्धतत्स्वरूपे शुद्धतत्स्वरूपाद् भेदभ्रमं प्रति शुद्धतत्स्वरूपज्ञानस्य प्रतिबन्धकत्वकल्पनात । तथाच तादृशभ्रमः कथमुक्ताभेदावगाहिधीनिवर्त्य इति

वाच्यं, यत्र च तत्त्वं यत्र चेदंत्वं तयोरेकत्रापरभेद इत्याकारकस्य तत्त्वेदंत्वादिरूपभिन्नधर्मोपलक्षितशुद्धदेवदत्तस्वरूपयोः भेदभ्रमस्याहार्यत्वव्यवहाराभावात् । भिन्नधर्मानुपलक्षितशुद्धतत्स्वरूपयोः भेदभ्रमं प्रत्येव शुद्धतत्स्वरूपज्ञानस्य प्रतिबन्धकत्वकल्पनात् । ब्रह्मसत्यत्वादिभिन्नधर्मोपलक्षितशुद्धब्रह्मादिस्वरूपयोः भेदभ्रमं प्रति तत्स्वरूपज्ञानस्याप्रतिबन्धकत्वेन तादृशभेदभ्रमस्यानाहार्यस्य सम्भवात् । अथ कथं वाच्यार्थाभेदबोधे शुद्धयोः ब्रह्मसत्यादिस्वरूपयोरभेदभानं ब्रह्मसत्यादिपदानां ब्रह्मत्वसत्यत्वादिविशिष्ट एव शक्ततया शुद्धरूपेण ब्रह्मसत्यादिस्वरूपयोः पदजन्योपस्थितेरभावेन शुद्धतत्स्वरूपयोर्भानासम्भवात् । नच लक्षणया तदुपस्थितिः वाच्यार्थाभेदबोधोत्तरं विरोधप्रतिसन्धाने सत्येव लक्षणावतारादिति चेन्न इतराविशेषणत्वेनोपस्थितिं विनापि घटः प्रमेयवानित्यादौ घटत्वविशिष्टप्रमेयविशिष्टयोः तादात्म्यावगाहितया घटत्वप्रमेयत्वयोस्तादात्म्यभानवदितराविशेषितरूपेणोपस्थितिं विनापि शुद्धयोरभेदभानसम्भवात् । ननु शुद्धयोरभेदभानाङ्गीकारे वाच्यार्थाभेदज्ञानं कीदृशम् । नच ब्रह्मत्वविशिष्टे अभेदेन सत्यत्वविशिष्टावगाहित्वे सति शुद्धब्रह्मस्वरूपे अभेदेन शुद्धसत्यस्वरूपावगाहिसमूहालम्बनात्मकं सम्भवति तादृशस्वरूपयोरत्यन्ताभेदेन सम्बन्धाभावात् । निरवच्छिन्नमुख्यविशेष्यताकशाब्दबोधानङ्गीकाराच्चेति चेन्न शुद्धसत्यस्वरूपाभेदत्वावच्छिन्नधर्मिकशुद्धब्रह्मस्वरूपवृत्तित्वप्रकारकसमूहालम्बनात्मकस्यैव वाच्यार्थाभेदज्ञानस्याङ्गीकारात् । नचाभेदाभेदत्वयोः उपस्थापकपदाभावात् तयोः संसर्गताभिन्नविषयतया भानं न सम्भवतीति वाच्यं विशेषणविभक्तेरभेदार्थकत्वस्य मणिकारैरुक्तत्वात् । निपातसाधारणनामार्थयोरभेदेनैवान्वय इति पक्षे घटो न पट इत्यादौ घटवृत्तिपटप्रतियोगिकभेदबोधस्य सर्वमतेऽपि गगनं द्रव्यं भवतीत्यादौ भवत्यर्थासाधारणधर्मादौ द्रव्यवृत्तित्वबोधस्य च प्रथमाया आधेयत्वार्थकत्वेनैव निर्वाहाच्च प्रथमयोरेवात्र तदुपस्थापकत्वात् । यद्वा सत्यं ब्रह्मेत्यादिस्वरूपलक्षणस्थलीयवाक्यस्य ब्रह्मत्वसत्यत्वाद्युपलक्षितशुद्धस्वरूपयोः भेदभ्रमादिनिवर्तकधीजनकत्वसम्पत्त्यर्थं तादृशवाक्यवाच्यार्थाभेदबोधे विशेषणविभक्तेर्विशेष्यविभक्तेर्वा व्यापकत्वार्थकतां स्वीकृत्य ब्रह्मस्वरूपात्मकविशेष्यनिष्ठभेदाप्रतियोगिस्वरूपं तादृशस्वरूपात्मकविशेष्यव्यापकत्वं सत्यस्वरूपात्मकविशेषणनिष्ठतया भातीति स्वीक्रियते । तथा च सर्वथा सत्यं ब्रह्मेत्यादिस्वरूपलक्षणस्थलीयवाच्यार्थाभेदबोधे ब्रह्मत्वसत्यत्वाद्युपलक्षितशुद्धस्वरूपयोरपि भानम् । वस्तुतस्तु सिद्धान्ते सत्यब्रह्मस्वरूपमात्रविषयकनिर्विकल्पकबोध एव

तादृशस्वरूपाज्ञानप्रयुक्तस्य ब्रह्मत्वसत्यत्वाद्युपलक्षितस्वरूपयोः भेदभ्रमस्य निवर्तकः। अत एव तादृशस्वरूपं तयोरभेद इति व्यवह्रियते। तस्य तदनिवर्तकत्वे तद्व्यवहारानुपपत्तेः। निवर्तकत्वे तु भेदधीविरोधिधीविषयत्वरूपभेदविरोधित्वेन तद्व्यवहारोपपत्तेश्च। उक्तञ्च तत्त्वमस्यादिपक्षकाखण्डार्थकत्वानुमाने लघुचन्द्रिकायां — व्यक्तिस्वरूपमात्रज्ञानस्यैवोक्तरीत्या भेदधीनिवर्तकत्वाद् व्यक्तिस्वरूपमेवाभेद इति। ननु तद्धर्ममादाय व्यावृत्ताकारमेव ज्ञानं तद्धर्मविशिष्टयोस्तद्धर्मोपलक्षितयोर्वा भेदभ्रमनिवर्तकं वाच्यम् अन्यथातिप्रसङ्गात्। तथाच सत्यत्वादिधर्ममादाय व्यावृत्ताकारस्यैव ज्ञानस्य उक्तभ्रमनिवर्तकतया कथमुक्तानिर्विकल्पकबोधस्य तन्निवर्तकत्वम् उक्तबोधस्य सत्यत्वादिधर्ममादाय व्यावृत्ताकारत्वाभावात्। सप्रकारकज्ञानस्यैव व्यावृत्ताकारत्वादिति चेन्न सप्रकारकस्यैव ज्ञानस्य व्यावृत्ताकारत्वमिति नियमाभावेन निष्प्रकारकस्याप्युक्तानिर्विकल्पकबोधस्य व्यावृत्ताकारत्वसम्भवात्। तथाहि व्यावृत्ताकारत्वं च व्यावर्तकधर्माश्रयविषयकत्वम्। तच्च द्विविधं, विशेषणं व्यावर्तकधर्ममादाय तदाश्रयविषयकत्वरूपम्, उपलक्षणं व्यावर्तकधर्ममादाय तदाश्रयविषयकत्वरूपं वेति। तत्र द्वितीयमपि द्विविधं धर्मान्तरोपस्थापकम् उपलक्षणमादाय तदाश्रयविषयकत्वरूपम्। स्वरूपोपस्थापकम् उपलक्षणमादाय तदाश्रयविषयकत्वरूपञ्चेति। तत्र विशेषणं धर्मान्तरोपस्थापकमुपलक्षणं वा आदाय व्यावृत्ताकारत्वे ज्ञानस्य सप्रकारतैव, स्वरूपोपस्थापकमुपलक्षणमादाय व्यावृत्ताकारत्वे निष्प्रकारतैव। तदुक्तमद्वैतसिद्धौ — "व्यावृत्ताकारत्वेन ज्ञानस्य भ्रमनिवर्तकता, नतु तत्र विशेषप्रकारकत्वनियमः। व्यावृत्ताकारता हि द्वेधा भवति विशेषणादुपलक्षणाच्च। तत्राद्ये सप्रकारकत्वनियमः। द्वितीयेऽपि धर्मान्तरस्योपस्थापकं यदुपलक्षणं, तस्माद् व्यावृत्ताकारत्वे सप्रकारतैव। यदि स्वरूपोपलक्षणाद् व्यावृत्ताकारता, तदा निष्प्रकारतैव उपलक्षणस्य तत्राप्रवेशादि"ति। अद्वैतसिद्धौ विशेषप्रकारकत्वेति व्यावृत्ताकारताघटकव्यावर्तकधर्मप्रकारत्वेत्यर्थः। विशेषणादुपलक्षणाच्चेति विशेषणमादाय उपलक्षणमादाय चेत्यर्थः। द्वितीयेऽपीत्यादि। यद्धर्मविषयकज्ञानेन धर्मस्य धर्मिणो वोपस्थितिद्वारा स्वाविषयकं स्वाश्रयविषयकं यत् ज्ञानं जन्यते स धर्मः तज्ज्ञानविषयस्वाश्रयोपलक्षणम्। अत्र स्वपदत्रयेण यत्तत्पदार्थधर्मो ग्राह्यः। तदुक्तं लघुचन्द्रिकायां — धर्मस्य धर्मिणो वा उपस्थितिद्वारा स्वाविषयकं स्वाश्रयस्य यज्ज्ञानं येन जन्यते तस्मिन् स्वाश्रयस्य ज्ञाने तस्योपलक्षणत्वमिति। चन्द्रिकायां तस्मिन् स्वाश्रयस्येत्यादिवाक्यस्य तस्य

धर्मस्य तस्मिन् ज्ञाने विषयीभूतस्वाश्रयोपलक्षणत्वमित्यर्थः । तत्र धर्मस्योपस्थितिद्वारा स्वाविषयकस्वाश्रयविषयकज्ञानजनकज्ञानविषयो धर्मो धर्मान्तरोपस्थापकमुपलक्षणम् । धर्मिणं उपस्थितिद्वारा तादृशो धर्मः स्वरूपोपलक्षणम् । तत्र धर्मान्तरोपस्थापकादुपलक्षणाद् व्यावृत्ताकारत्वे सप्रकारकत्वमेव काकवन्तो देवदत्तगृहा इत्यादौ काकाद्युपस्थापितस्योत्तृणत्वादेः गृहे प्रकारतया भानात् स्वरूपोपलक्षणाद् व्यावृत्ताकारत्वे निष्प्रकारत्वमेव । प्रकृष्टप्रकाशश्चन्द्र इत्यादौ चन्द्रस्वरूपोपस्थापकलक्षणावतारप्रयोजकवाच्यार्थज्ञानविषययोश्चन्द्रत्वप्रकृष्टप्रकाशत्वाद्योश्चन्द्रस्वरूपे प्रकारतया भानादर्शनादित्यर्थः । यद्वा स्वनिष्ठविषयत्वानिरूपितस्वाश्रयनिष्ठविषयताकं यज्ज्ञानं यद्धर्मविषयकज्ञानजन्यं स धर्मः तज्ज्ञानविषयस्वाश्रयोपलक्षणम् । स्वशब्दैर्धर्मो ग्राह्यः जन्यत्वं च धर्मस्य धर्मिणो वा उपस्थितिद्वारा साक्षाद् वा । शेषं पूर्ववद् बोध्यम् । तस्मात् सत्यं ब्रह्मेत्यादिस्वरूपलक्षणवाक्यात् सत्यत्वादिविशिष्टविषयकज्ञानप्रयोज्यशुद्धोपस्थितिजन्यत्वे सति यत्सत्यत्वाद्यविषयकतदाश्रयविषयकत्वं तद्रूपसत्यत्वाद्युपलक्षितविषयकत्ववत् स्वरूपमात्रविषयकनिर्विकल्पबोध एव स्वीक्रियते । तत्प्रयोजकतया ब्रह्मत्वसत्यत्वादिविशिष्टात्मकवाच्यार्थाभेदज्ञानमपि न तु वाच्यार्थाभेदज्ञाने शुद्धस्वरूपयोरभेदस्य व्याप्यव्यापकभावस्य वा भानम् । यद्वा वाच्यार्थाभेदज्ञाने उक्तव्यापकत्वभानमप्यङ्गीक्रियते । अन्यथोक्तनिर्विकल्पकबोधस्योक्तभ्रमविरोधित्वं सर्वसम्मतं न स्यात् । तदङ्गीकारे तु निर्विकल्पकोत्पत्तिकाले उक्तव्यापकत्वविषयकवाच्यार्थाभेदज्ञाननाशेन उक्तव्यापकत्वधीजन्यसंस्कारसत्त्वात् तदुद्बोधकविधया उक्तनिर्विकल्पकबोधस्योक्तभेदभ्रमविरोधित्वं सर्वसम्मतं सम्भवत्येव । उक्तव्यापकत्वग्रहस्येव तज्जन्यसंस्कारोद्बोधकयोः सत्त्वेऽपि उक्तभेदबुद्धेरनाहार्यायाः तार्किकादिमतेऽप्यनुत्पादात् । अत एव संक्षेपशारीरके—

> "सामानाधिकरण्यमत्र भवति प्राथम्यभागन्वयः
> पश्चादेव विशेषणेतरतया पश्चाद्विरोधोद्भवः ।
> उत्पन्ने च विरोध एकरसके वस्तुन्यखण्डात्मके
> वृत्तिर्लक्षणया भवत्ययमिह ज्ञेयः क्रमः सूरिभिः ॥"

इत्यनेन मुख्यतात्पर्यविषयतया स्वरूपमात्रविषयकनिर्विकल्पकबोध एव सत्यमित्यादिवाक्याद् दर्शितः । तद्बोधप्रयोजकतया वाच्यार्थाभेदज्ञानमपि । अस्य संक्षेपशारीरकस्यायमर्थः — अत्र सत्यादिवाक्ये सामानाधिकरण्यं पदयोः समानविभक्तिकत्वरूपसमभिव्याहारज्ञानं प्राथम्यभागन्वयः प्रथमो मुख्यतात्पर्य-

विषयशाब्दधीप्रयोजकः । पश्चाद्देवेति अन्वय इत्यनुषज्यते । तथा च विशेषणेतरतया विशेषणविशेष्यभावेन वाच्यार्थभेदज्ञानं पश्चादन्वय इत्यर्थः । पश्चाद्विरोधोद्भव इति अन्वय इत्यत्रात्राप्यनुषङ्गाद् विरोधोद्भवः विरोधज्ञानं वाच्यार्थभेदज्ञाने प्रमात्वाभावात् तात्पर्यं नोपपद्यत इत्याकारं पश्चादन्वय इत्यर्थः । अत्र सर्वत्रान्वयपदस्य मुख्यतात्पर्यविषयशाब्दधीप्रयोजकः अर्थः । विरोधे उक्तविरोधज्ञाने उत्पन्ने सति एकरसके पदार्थान्तरसंसर्गनैरपेक्ष्येण भासमाने अखण्डात्मके अपर्यायानेकशब्दोपस्थापिते पदार्थान्तरानान्विते वृत्तिः शाब्दधीरिति । अत्र वाच्यार्थभेदज्ञानोत्तरं तत्राप्रमात्वज्ञानेन तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिज्ञानरूपविरोधप्रतिसन्धानात् शुद्धव्यक्तिबोधे तात्पर्यमिति तात्पर्यज्ञाने सत्येव लक्षणावताराद् वाच्यार्थभेदज्ञानस्य मुख्यतात्पर्यविषयशुद्धव्यक्तिबोधप्रयोजकलक्षणावतारप्रयोजकविरोधप्रतिसन्धानप्रयोजकतया मुख्यतात्पर्यविषयशाब्दधीप्रयोजकत्वं बोध्यम् । ननु सामानाधिकरण्यज्ञानं तादात्म्यसंसर्गकशाब्दज्ञानं प्रत्येव हेतुः । मुख्यतात्पर्यविषयशाब्दधीश्च निर्विकल्पकतया संसर्गानवगाहिनीति तां प्रति तस्य प्रयोजकत्वाभावात् तद्धीप्रयोजकेषु तस्य प्राथम्येन परिगणनं न युक्तमिति चेदुच्यते । मुख्यतात्पर्यविषयशाब्दधियश्च निर्विकल्पकत्वेन संसर्गानवगाहित्वात् तां प्रति सामानाधिकरण्यज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वाभावेऽपि तद्धीप्रयोजकवाच्यार्थभेदज्ञानं प्रति हेतुतया परम्परया तद्धीप्रयोजकत्वात् तत्प्रयोजकेषु तस्य प्राथम्येन परिगणनं युक्तम् । वस्तुतस्तु सामानाधिकरण्यज्ञानं तादृशशाब्दधियं प्रति साक्षादेव हेतुः । तथाहि — चतुर्धा हि सामानाधिकरण्यम् । अध्यासे इदं रजतमित्यादौ, बाधायां स्थाणुः पुमानित्यादौ, विशेषणविशेष्यभावे नीलमुत्पलमित्यादौ, अभेदे तत्त्वमसीत्यादाविति । अध्यास इत्यादौ सर्वत्र सप्तम्या आधेयत्वमर्थः । समानविभक्तिकत्वरूपे सामानाधिकरण्ये तदन्वयः अध्यासपदस्य आधारारोप्ययोः तादात्म्यबोधकनामद्वयमर्थः । तथाचाध्यासे सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यस्याधारारोप्ययोस्तादात्म्यबोधकनामद्वयनिष्ठं सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यर्थः । इदं रजतमित्यादौ इदमंश आधारः । तदुक्तं सिद्धान्तलेशसंग्रहे — "शुक्त्यंशोऽधिष्ठानम् इदमंश आधारः सविलासाज्ञानविषयोऽधिष्ठान अतद्रूपो हि तद्रूपेणारोप्यबुद्धौ स्फुरन्नाधार इति संक्षेपशारीरके विवेचनादि"ति । सिद्धान्तलेशसंग्रहे अतद्रूपोऽपीत्यादेरयमर्थः — अतद्रूपोऽपि वास्तवतत्तादात्म्यशून्योऽपि तद्रूपेण तत्तादात्म्येन आरोप्यबुद्धौ स्फुरन् भ्रमे भासमान आधार इति । तथा चेदं रजतमो

स्तादात्म्यबोधकमिदं रजतमिति नामद्वयमाधारारोप्ययोस्तादात्म्यबोधकमिति तन्निष्ठसामानाधिकरण्यमध्यासे सामानाधिकरण्यम् । बाधायामित्यत्र बाधापदस्य बाध्यमानतादात्म्योपलक्षिताधिष्ठानबोधकनामद्वयमर्थः । तथाच बाधायां सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यस्य तादृशनामद्वयनिष्ठं सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यर्थः । बाध्यमानत्वञ्च स्वनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितया ज्ञायमानत्वं स्वमधिष्ठानम् । उपलक्षितत्वं चात्र तत्सम्बन्धोत्तरकालीनतदभाववत्त्वम् । स्थाणुः पुमानित्यादौ स्थाणुपदं स्थाणुतादात्म्येन ज्ञातार्थकम् । पुमानिति सावधारणम् । तथाच स्थाणुतादात्म्येन ज्ञातः पुमानेव न स्थाणुरित्यर्थः । तथाच तादृशवाक्यात् पुंरूपाधिष्ठाने स्थाणुतादात्म्येन ज्ञाते स्थाणुतादात्म्याभावबोधात् तत्तादात्म्यम् । अधिष्ठाननिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितया ज्ञायमानत्वेन बाध्यमानम् । अयं स्थाणुरिति भ्रमदशायां स्थाणुतादात्म्यस्य पुंसि सत्त्वादिदानीमभावाच्च । तत्तादात्म्योपलक्षितं पुंरूपमधिष्ठानम् । तथाच बाध्यमानतादात्म्योपलक्षिताधिष्ठानबोधकं तन्नामद्वयमिति तन्निष्ठसामानाधिकरण्यं बाधायां सामानाधिकरण्यम् । विशेषणविशेष्यभाव इत्यत्र विशेषणविशेष्यभावपदस्योक्ततादात्म्यान्यतादात्म्यबोधकनामद्वयमर्थः । तथाच विशेषणविशेष्यभावे सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यस्य तादृशतादात्म्यबोधकनामद्वयनिष्ठं सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यर्थः । नीलोत्पलयोः तादात्म्यस्य उक्ततादात्म्यान्यत्वेन तत्तादात्म्यबोधकं नीलमुत्पलमिति नामद्वयमिति तन्निष्ठसामानाधिकरण्यं विशेषणविशेष्यभावे सामानाधिकरण्यम् । अभेद इत्यत्राभेदबोधकनामद्वयमभेदपदार्थः । अभेदश्च जीवत्वेश्वरत्वाद्युपलक्षितशुद्धव्यक्तिरेव । तद्विषयकप्रमया तदुपलक्षितशुद्धव्यक्त्योः भेदभ्रमोच्छेदात् । यद्विषयकप्रमया यादृशभेदभ्रम उच्छिद्यते, तस्यैव तादृशभेदविरोध्यभेदत्वात् । तदुक्तं लघुचन्द्रिकायां — "यादृशभेदस्य ज्ञानं यद्विषयकप्रमयोच्छेद्यं, तादृशभेदविरोध्यभेदः स एवे"ति । तथाच शुद्धव्यक्तिबोधकनामद्वयनिष्ठं सामानाधिकरण्यम् अभेदे सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यर्थः । तत्त्वमसीत्यादौ लक्षणया जीवत्वेश्वरत्वोपलक्षितशुद्धव्यक्तेरेव बोधात् तन्निष्ठसामानाधिकरण्यमभेदे सामानाधिकरण्यम् । यद्वा अध्यासे आधारारोप्ययोः तादात्म्यबाधायां बाध्यमानतादात्म्योपलक्षिताधिष्ठाने विशेषणविशेष्यभाव उक्ततादात्म्यान्यतादात्म्ये अभेदे शुद्धव्यक्तौ इति अध्यास इत्यादेरर्थः । बोधकत्वं सप्तम्यर्थः । सामानाधिकरण्ये तदन्वयः । तथा चाध्यासे सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यादेराधारारोप्ययोः तादात्म्यबोधकं सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यादिरर्थः । सर्वं चैतदागमबाधोद्धारादौ लघुच-

अधिकं न्यायरत्नावल्यादितोऽवसेयम् । अत्रेदं बोध्यम् । सत्यं ब्रह्मेत्यादि-स्वरूपलक्षणस्थले लक्ष्यत्वाभिमतलक्षणत्वाभिमतस्वरूपयोरत्यन्ताभेदेन लक्ष्य-लक्षणभावव्यवहारापत्तिमाशङ्क्य तद्व्यवहार उपपादितोऽद्वैतसिद्धौ "नचाभेदे लक्ष्यलक्षणभावायोगः अन्तःकरणवृत्तिनिबन्धनाकारभे(दे)नोभयोपपत्तेरिति । अद्वैतसिद्धौ लक्ष्यलक्षणभावायोग इति इदं लक्ष्यमिदं लक्षणमिति व्यवहारायोग इत्यर्थः । इतरभेदानुमितौ यः पक्षस्तदेव लक्ष्यं यो हेतुस्तदेव लक्षणमिति व्यवह्रियते । तथाच ययोरत्यन्ताभेदः तयोर्हेतुत्वाभिमते पक्षत्वाभिमतसम्बन्धि-त्वायोगेन पक्षहेतुभावायोगा उक्तव्यवहारायोग इति भावः । अन्तःकरणवृत्ति-निबन्धनाकारभेदेनेति विभिन्नमनोवृत्तिविषयत्वरूपोपाधिनिबन्धनाभ्यामाका-राभ्यां रूपाभ्यामेकस्यापि स्वरूपस्य भेदेनेत्यर्थः । तादृशमनोवृत्तिश्च सत्यं ब्रह्मेत्यादिस्वरूपलक्षणस्थले ब्रह्मादिपदार्थस्वरूपमात्रस्य सत्यादिपदार्थस्वरूप-मात्रस्य च लक्षणयोपस्थितिः । उभयोपपत्तेरिति । इदं लक्ष्यमिदं लक्षणमिति यौ व्यवहारौ तदुपपत्तेरित्यर्थः । अयं भावः — यदा ब्रह्मपदार्थस्वरूपमात्रस्य सत्यादिपदार्थस्वरूपमात्रस्य च लक्षणयोपस्थितिः, तदैव साक्षिणा तादृशोप-स्थितिविषयत्वाभ्यां तत्स्वरूपे गृह्येते ज्ञानाज्ञानविषयत्वाभ्यां सर्वस्यापि वस्तुनः साक्षिग्राह्यत्वात् । तदुक्तं विवरणे— "सर्वं वस्तु ज्ञाततयाज्ञाततया च साक्षि-चैतन्यस्य विषय" इति । ततस्तादृशोपस्थितिभ्यां स्वरूपमात्रविषयकनिर्विक-ल्पकबोधः । ततः साक्षिणा पूर्वं गृहीताभ्यां तादृशोपस्थितिविषयत्वोपहित-रूपाभ्यां तत्स्वरूपयोर्वैशिष्ट्यग्रहः । तत्स्वरूपयोस्तादृशोपस्थितिविषयत्वोप-हितरूपाभ्यां भेदेन वैशिष्ट्यग्रहसम्भवात् । तदेव हेतौ पक्षधर्मताज्ञानम् । ततो व्याप्तिस्मरणेनानुमितिः । तथाच तत्स्वरूपं ब्रह्मपदजन्यतादृशोपस्थितिविषय-त्वोपहितरूपेण इतरभेदानुमितौ पक्षत्वाल्लक्ष्यमिति सत्यपदजन्यतादृशोपस्थिति-विषयत्वोपहितरूपेण तत्र हेतुत्वाल्लक्षणमिति व्यवह्रियते इति ॥

LIGHT THROWN ON CULTURAL CURRENTS BY THE TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES.

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This paper is contributed by way of participation in the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts and in appreciation of the good work which stands to the credit of that Department. The organization and maintenance of the Department have redounded to the renown of the sovereigns of the State in no small measure. The doctorial degree conferred on the eminent scholar Dr. Ganapati Sastri, the previous curator is a mark of approciation by European scholars of his profound attainments and meritorious achievements and I trust that the time is not far off for his learned successor Mr. K. Sambasiva Sastri to meet with a similar recognition from distinguished savants.

The Kerala Country is separated by a long range of mountains from the rest of India and occupies to some extent an isolated position. Naturally there are marked differences in customs, manners, physical features, social organization and political history, observable in Kerala. One would expect a similar isolation in the field of culture also. That however does not appear to have been the case, at any rate to any noteworthy extent. Interfluent currents of culture seem to have existed between Kerala and other parts of India not in any pronounced shape, but in the silent, subdued fashion characteristic of scholarship. The publications in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series afford some evidence in support of my view. I do not however mean to say that the lines along which culture developed in Malabar and elsewhere were identical. I mean only to draw attention to the connection that subsisted between Malabar and other parts of India, from a cultural standpoint. In the remote past, Malabar for the most part was under the sway of the Perumals elected from foreign centres by Malabar Brahmins. The Kerala-Kshiti-Ratna-Mala, a treatise on Malabar land tenure, says

"काश्मीरावान्तिचोलेभ्य
आनीय क्षत्रियं द्विजाः ।"

That is to say, Perumals have been brought in from Kashmir, Avanti, Chola and other places. I was sceptical about this statement, at any rate with respect to distant Kashmir, in the absence of any corroboration. But my scepticism has almost given way in the light of additional evidence on the subject. The great monistic philosopher, Sri Sankara born in Kerala, is believed to have gone so far afield as Kashmir to advocate his philosophy and to have established the Asrama at Badarinath, where the religious service used to be conducted by Brahmins drawn from Malabar. Kshemendra who flourished during the reign of Ananta Deva in Kashmir (A. D. 1028 to 1080), quotes from his own work Lavanyavati, the following verse in the Ouchitya-vichara-churcha, *viz*,

मार्गे केतकसूचिभिन्नचरणा सीत्कारिणी केरली
रम्यं रम्यमहो मुहुः कुरुविटेनेत्यर्थिता सस्मिता ।

Now Kshemendra is one who insists on an acquaintance with various countries as a qualification for poets. His work Narma-mala, now published by the Kashmir Oriental Publication Department, shows that students from other parts of India used to betake themselves to Kashmir for advanced studies and among them, arrivals from Bengal were his pet aversion. Sambhu, another Kashmir poet who lived while Sri Harsha Deva was reigning (A. D. 1088 to 1100), says as follows :—

एताः केरलसुन्दरीरदरुचः सन्त्येव मुक्तालता
मल्लीमाल्यमयानि सौरभभरोद्दामानि दामानि च ।
(अन्योक्तिमुक्तालता)

अङ्के केरलसुन्दरीकचभरश्यामं कलङ्कं वहन्
मिथ्यारोहति पूर्वपर्वतशिखां मुग्धस्तमीबान्धवः ।
(राजेन्द्रकर्णपूरः)

कीरी हारलतासु केरलवधूधम्मिल्लमालासु या
चोली दन्तचतुष्किकासु मुरली लीलास्मितेषु द्युतिः ।

Bhalláta, supposed to be another Kashmir poet earlier than Kshemendra, has the following verse on the cocoanut tree in his Sataka,

एष श्रीमानविरलगुणग्रामणीर्नालिकेर-
इछया यस्य प्रभंवति चिरं घर्मशान्त्यै जनानाम् ।
तेनाम्भोभिः कतिचन जना वासरांस्तर्पयध्वं
दास्यत्येतच्छतगुणमयं वारि मूर्ध्ना दधानः ॥

It is difficult as it seems to me, to reject these references to the graces and charms of Malabar ladies and the beneficence of the cocoanut tree, by Kashmir poets, as mere fanciful flights. Light furnished by the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series forbids such a rejection. I may refer to a few of the publications in the Series as lending support to my point. Nyaya-sara (No. 109), recently published, contains a commentary by one Vasudeva. At the conclusion of the commentary it is stated that it was written by Vasudeva, son of Surya-Suri of Kashmir. There cannot be any doubt that this Vasudeva is the author of Yudhisthira-Vijaya, a Kavya, widely prevalent in Malabar and procurable, as I see, in Kashmir also. The Kavya was composed when the Perumals were in power, that is to say about the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the author is referred to as the son of Ravi, same as Surya. Vasudeva-Vijaya, another Kavya illustrative of grammatical rules, published in the Kavya-Mala Series, may also be, by the same author. What is significant however is the immigration of scholars from Kashmir into Kerala even before the days of Kshemendra and Sambhu, the settlement of such scholars in Malabar and the cultural contact established between the two distant countries. Another work that may be referred to in this connection is Alankarasutra (No. 40). The Vritti on this work was written by Mankhuka, a minister at the court of the Kashmir Kings. The Sutra and the Vritti found their way to the court of Ravi Varma the conqueror, King of Quilon, where they were commented on by Samudrabandha, in the 13th century A. D. Maharthamanjari (No. 66) composed in the Chola country deals with the Saiva Cult developed by Abhinavagupta and others in Kashmir. This work was found out from Kottayam and Tiruvella in Travancore. Then there is another publication Paramartha-sara (No. 12) which deserves notice in this connection. It deals with Advaita philosophy and is said by Dr. Ganapati Sastri to be the work of Adisesha himself. Another work of the same name has now been published in the Kashmir Series,

also said to have been composed by Sesha who according to the learned editor was a Yogi and not the Serpent-Lord as opined by Dr Ganapati Sastri. The main difference between the two publications is that the Trivandrum Publication is Vaishnavite and the other Saivite. But for this difference, both of them agree in the main. It is rather difficult to determine which is the original, and which is the variant. It is however strange that the same work with the above said modification was found in Malabar and Kashmir. I may however add that the Trivandrum publication seems to have found its way into Travancore from the adjoining Tamil Country.

The considerations set forth in the previous paragraphs lend colour to the statement in the Kerala-Kshiti-ratna-mala and lead me to think that some connection existed between Kashmir and Kerala in the remote past.

I now take up another cultural current namely between Bengal and Malabar. Gita-Govindam of Jayadeva, a Bengal Poet, is chanted in many temples in Malabar. From that a Zamorin of Calicut took the cue and produced Krishnan Attom for representation on the stage. That was further developed into Raman Attom or Kathakali, by the Kottarakkara Raja, a scion of the Travancore Royal Family. Till a few years ago Kathakali, which is a variety of pantomimic acting, was almost the only form of dramatic recreation in Malabar. Thus the stage in Malabar owes a good deal to Bengal. Not only that. Yatra-Play performed by Malabar Brahmins has, I think its source in the Yatra performances of Bengal. No doubt, I have heard people deriving Yatrakali from Sastra-kali. It is a false derivation, since there is very little peculiarly Sastraic in the Yatra performances. In a modern Bengal drama, by Girish Chunder Ghose, as I recollect, there is a well-known character called Vilvamangalam Thakur. After a dissolute life, as the story goes he is said to have become a saintly person. Tradition in Kerala also makes mention of a Vilvamangalam Swamiyar who is said to have been a spiritual preceptor to some of the Malabar Kings, Chempakasseri Raja or Raja of Poraca as he is called by Portugese writers, being one among them. Prakriya-sarvasvam, the first part of which was recently published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series says that the Chempakasseri Raja had received holy initiation from a Sanyasin who hailed from the Brindavan. See the verse beginning "यो वृन्दावनवासिनो नियमिन:" etc. This Sanyasin in

the light of the tradition, I take to be none other than Vilvamangalam. It might be that the Malabar Vilvamangalam was a relation or disciple of the Bengal Vilvamangalam Anyhow that also points to previous connection between Bengal and Malabar.

Aryamanjusrimulakalpa (Nos. 70, 76 and 84), which deals with Buddhistic lore in regard to health, wealth, necromancy, astrology, *etc.*, is a work from Upper India. It has got scriptural authority with the Buddhists. It was translated into the Chinese language. The original however was not available anywhere in India except Travancore. In the hands of Pandit K. P. Jayaswal, the publication has now served to throw light on a dark epoch in Indian History and to question the correctness of some views expressed by Vincent Smith. It is indeed creditable that such a valuable work was discovered and published here. What is strange in this connection is that the publication is based on a copy made by a Buddhist monk from what was known as the Madhyadesa which means the province west of Allahabad. Let me not however be understood as holding the view that the work under reference is a Bengal production. The author no doubt refers to Bengal among the various parts of India like Kashmir, Sindh, Madhya-desa, Anga, Kasi, Magadha, Simhala, Andhra, Karnata, Dravida, Arbuda, Ṣahyadesa, Malaya and so forth. Probably the author also belonged to Madhya-desa. References to other parts of India in works produced in Kerala are also not uncommon. See for example Ranadipika (No. 95), a treatise on military preparations, by Kumara Ganaka, a Malabar astrologer who flourished, as it seems to me before the Perumals were vanquished. The following passage is instructive

वदन्तु बहुधा कामं मुनीन्द्राः शुद्धमानसाः ।
अहं सत्यं प्रवक्ष्यामि युक्त्या परमसारया ॥
युक्तियुक्तमुपादेयं वचनं बालकादपि ।
अन्यत् तृणमिव त्याज्यमप्युक्तं पद्मजन्मना ॥
कर्णाटे द्राविडे गौडे काश्मीरे कोङ्कणेऽपि च ।
तुरुष्कराज्ये वैदेहे वङ्गाले सिंहलेऽपि च ॥
पाण्ड्यमालवलाटादिपरदेशेषु नामभम् ।
प्रधानं जन्मनक्षत्रात् सर्वेषां सर्वकर्मसु ॥
केरले भुवि लोकानां जन्मभं ग्राह्यमेव हि ।

Other Upper Indian productions have also reached Malabar in the remote past. See for example Artha-sasthra (Nos. 79, 80 and 82) and Isanasivagurudevapaddhati (Nos. 69, 72, 77 and 83). Years ago, a vernacular commentary was written on the Arthasastra and it is so helpful and profound as to afford guidance even to a scholar like Dr. Ganapathi Sastri.

The general circulation and currency of well-known works like the Mahabharata, Ramayana and the works of poets like Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti would not lead to any valid inference. They are the common property of all lovers of Indian culture and are indispensable like air and water for living beings. It is the *rara avis* that arrests attention, tells its own tale, no matter how indistinctly, and creates a craving for new and clear vistas. It is also probable that notable works produced in enlightened centres in the Madras Presidency would percolate the cultural stratum of Malabar on account of contiguity. Vishnu-Bhagavata according to a learned writer in the Historical Quarterly, is a South Indian production, in all probability by an author in the Dravida country. That work has overshadowed other Puranas in the Kerala country. Similarly, Sivalilarnava (No. 4) by Nilakanta Dikshita, Manidarpana (No. 34) by Rajachudamani Dikshita, Siddhanta-siddhanjana (Nos. 47, 48, 58 and 61) by Krishnanandasarasvati, Mattavilasaprahasana (No. 55) by Mahendravikrama Varma, Bharatacarita (No. 86) and Hamsa sandesa (No. 103) are procurable in Malabar on the ground stated above. No doubt, Dr. Ganapati Sastri is silent on the native village of Krishnakavi, author of Bharatacarita. I am however inclined to think that he was a native of Tinnevelly from his fond and frequent references to the Tamraparni River. Tradition says that Namburi Brahmins from British Malabar used to proceed to Chola and Pandya territories in pursuit of learning. We have also accounts of incursions by foreign scholars into Kerala to contest the supremacy of indigenous intellectuals. Uddanda Sastri (circa 1426 A. D.) is said to be one of such formidable controversialists. He marched into Malabar from Chola country, caught Tartar in his learned discussions on the west coast, and remained to praise his opponents, being quite content with a Malabar domicile. One of his works Mallika-marutam, published many years ago at Calcutta led the erudite editor into the pompous blunder of concluding that it was a work by the well-known author, Dandi.

An idea of our foreign relations in the field of culture may be gained from the previous paragraphs. If we leave out the short-lived occupation of the Malabar District in the days of Hyder and Tippu, the Kerala country may be said to have had no misfortune to be under the iron heels of invaders delighting in bonfires of books and libraries. The "mild Hindu" was nowhere milder than in Malabar in his attitude towards other religions in spite of their transmutative activity on the followers of other creeds. Whatever be the problems arising from the silent outgrowth of such a situation, indigenous pursuit of knowledge and its title-deeds did not meet with any outrage in the past. Bhasa's works wiped out of existence in other parts of India, were therefore found to survive only in Travancore. I am not unaware of the keen controyersy about the authenticity of the works published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as Bhasa's productions. The fact however remains that these lovely plays were not found in quarters where they should have been found if the contentions of those who oppose the Bhasa theory were well-founded. The enthusiasm generated among scholars by the discovery of these plays and the abiding glory secured by their publication would not be seriously affected by the critical batteries opened on their authorship. Another publication on which the department deserves congratulation is the Bhashya on Rig-Veda by Skandasvami. The great commentator was a native of Valabhi. Mr. Sambasiva Sastrigal has argued strenuously to establish that Valabhi is Valapattanam in Malabar. Valabhi, however, is known as a town in Guzerat. See for example the statement in the Dasakumaracharita quoted by Apte, "अस्ति सौराष्ट्रेषु वलभी नाम नगरी।", Granting therefore that Skandasvami was not a native of Kerala, we cannot under-rate the discovery of his work in Kerala and its importance in the study of vedic literature. The prevalent Bhashya by Sayana is much later than that of Skandaswami.

Apart from general literature, the productions of Malabar Scholars in the past disclose two distinctive features; (1) simplification and elucidation of the sciences and arts in Sanskrit, and (2) specialisation in certain specific directions. Under the first head may be placed the works of Narayana Bhattapada. His Prakriyasarvasva, a lucid treatise on grammar has recently been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit

Series. I wonder how Siddhanta-kaumudi by Bhattoji still holds the field against Prakriyasarvasva. Dhatu-kavya by the same author following the Dhatu-vritti by Madhavacharya has been published in the Kavya-mala Series in Bombay. Similarly Matanga-lila (No. 10) on elephants and their diseases is a work which boils down an elaborate treatise, Palakapya, published some years ago by the Anandasramamutt, Poona, Tantrasamuccaya (Nos. 67 and 71) and Manameyodaya (No. 19) may also be placed under the same category.

Turning to the other head *viz*., specialisation, we see an amount of earnestness in Jyotisha (astronomy and astrology), Ayurveda (medicine), Mimamsa and Silpa (architecture) The branch of astronomy known as Drig-ganita is special to Kerala. The founder of that system is one Parameswara (circa. 1430 A. D.). His work Gola-dipika is No. 49. He has written a number of other books on the same subject, and one of them his commentary on Aryabhatiyam appears to have been published at Leyden His son's disciple, Nilakanta Somayaji, a sturdy scholar, with whom I had to deal at some length in my essay on Ezhuthacchan, a Malayalam poet, is the author of an erudite commentary on the Aryabhatiya, two parts of which have already been published in our Sanskrit Series. Dr. Sankara Menon, a former Director of Ayurveda in the service of the State, has also brought out a number of works on Jyotisha, in addition to some rare treatises on Ayurveda.

In the field of Ayurveda, Malabar has an octad of physicians' families, called Ashta-vaidyans, with a perpetual succession of eminent physicians in each of them. They are the hereditary custodians of native medicine. The highwatermark of efficiency reached by these physicians would not of course, remain constant, on account of variations in individual intelligence. The marvellous achievements of the late Aryan Narayanan Moos of Vayakkara family, in the healing art are matters of recent history. At a remote age the Alattur Nambis bore the palm. Dhanvantari Das of the Chirattaman family is threatening to overtop many others at present. So it is with them. The general level of learning maintained by these families is indeed very high. The main authority they have been following for many decades is Vagbhata's Ashtanga-hrdaya. In addition to that, each of these families, I understand, has its special

treatises and arcana for treatment. It is indeed a pity that these eminent physicians have not recorded their experiences to contribute to the development of the Ayurvedic system. Modifications of the methods laid down in the Ashtanga-hrdaya have been however found necessary in some instances by other eminent physicians and Hrdayapriya (No. 111) by Patchu Mootatu, a physician at the court of Ayilliam Tirunal Maharaja, is the outcome of such necessity. I am glad however to note that the archives of the Ashta-vaidyans have been invaded by our enterprising curators and two of the spoils recovered (1) Rasavaiseshika by Bhadanta Nagarjuna with Narasimha's Bhashya and (2) Rasopanishad have been made available to the public by Dr. Sankara Menon and Mr. Sambasiva Sastrigal respectively. The first work, according to Dr. Sankara Menon is a Malabar production. He has advanced many arguments to establish his view and I wish it were so. I regret however to say that I remain unconvinced. The second work viz., Rasopanishad also refers to Nagarjuna, but it is difficult to say whether he is the same as the author of the first work or some one else. Rasopanishad is an interesting work dealing with the marvellous uses of mercury and mercuric preparations. The author vouchsafes perpetual youth, extreme longevity and other blessings by mercuric medicines. I expect some native physicians would study the subject and put the prescriptions to the test. The author of the work, though it stands in the name of Lord Paramasiva, appears to have been acquainted with various parts of India. See for example the following passages.

(1) मेढपाटे, स्वाटे, वैराटनगरे, नेपाले, चमूरके, काश्मीरे,
आन्ध्रदेशे, श्रीपर्वते, द्रमिलदेशे, करहट्टे च जायते ।

(2) अस्ति दक्षिणापथे शेषणविषये राशिनं नाम ग्रामः ।

What is strange however is the close acquaintance claimed by the author with Malabar. See the following.

दक्षिणे केरलेन्द्रस्य राष्ट्रे वनसमाकुले ।
नातिदूरे समुद्रस्य ग्रामे प्रीतिसमाह्वये ॥
ततः पिप्पलिसंस्थानाः पाषाणा हेमधातवः ।
तानादाय प्रयत्नेन श्लक्ष्णचूर्णानि कारयेत् ॥

I am unable to identify the Preeti Grama alluded to by the author.

Coming to Mimamsa, Uddanda Sastri who lived about 500 years ago in his Kokila-sandesa eulogises the high proficiency of the Kottayam Rajas in that branch of study. Manameyodaya, evidently by two Malabar scholars, and Mimamsaslokavartika (Nos. 90 and 99) point to the special study of the subject in Kerala.

Lastly about Silpam. I remember to have read in Prananath Sarasvati's Tagore Law Lectures on Hindu Religious Endowments, that Upper Indian treatises on architecture are not available and the only treatise that he came across, Manasara, was a South Indian production. Silparatnam, composed at the instance of the Chempakasseri Raja Manushyalayachandrika and Vastu-vidya among the publications, bear testimony to the avidity of Keraliyas in the art of architecture.

Dattilam, Brihaddesi and Sangitasamayasara are treatises on music. These are no doubt rare, but cannot be regarded as evidence of any wide-spread interest in the development of the art of music in Kerala. They appear to have been collected by some lovers of music.

The above bird's-eye view of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series enables us to gain an insight into the inter-relations of Kerala with other parts of India in regard to Sanskritic studies and Indian culture in the past. It also serves to indicate the lines along which sholarship developed in Kerala. My views, I have to add, are the result of the impressions formed on a general acquaintance with the publications in question. I have not critically examined them and I trust, a critical examination would yield much better and more interesting results.

On the whole there is good reason to congratulate the department on the laudable outturn of the work undertaken by it. Much more remains to be done, and I hope as time goes by, the department, if properly encouraged, would establish further claims to esteem and praise in the cause of Oriental Studies and Indian Culture.

May the Department grow from stage to stage!

आरम्भतो गणपतिप्रतिपत्तिपात्रं
संवर्धिता तदनु साम्बशिवप्रसादात् ।
चित्रर्क्षजस्य नृपतेः कृपया चकास्तु
प्रत्नप्रबन्धगणमुद्रणकार्यशाखा ॥

THE EARLIEST CHERA KING KNOWN TO LITERATURE

By K. G. Sesha Aiyar B. A., B. L. Judge, High Court, (Retd.), Trivandrum.

The only source from which the story of the old Chera Kingdom can be constructed is the Literature of the Sangam Period. Of the three ancient Tamil Kingdoms, the Chola and the Pandya Kingdom have long since ceased to exist; but the Chera Kingdom still survives in the Indian States of Cochin and Travancore. A connected history of this ancient kingdom has not yet been written; and any one who desires to study its ancient history must go to the great Tamil classics of the Sangam age. Thanks to the indefatigable energy and industry and the invincible love of Tamil of the greatest living Tamil scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Dakshinatyakalanidhi Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar, correct and critical editions of most of these classics are now available in print, and among these the most important sources of information for building up an account of the early Cheras are *Purananuru*, *Patirrup-pattu* and *Silappatikaram*. The lyrics of *Purananuru* are mainly court lyrics in praise of Tamil Kings or chieftains by contemporary poets; and they supply us with information about 17 Chera Kings; but there is reason to believe that the names are, in some cases, reduplications. *Silappatikaram* is a well-known epic that deals with the achievements of Cen Kuttuvan, the great Chera king who built a temple in memory of Patni-Devi. *Patirrup-pattu* is exclusively devoted to a eulogy of the Cheras; and though originally there were ten decads in that collection, each sung of a different Chera monarch by a contemporary poet, only eight decads have so far been rescued by Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar from oblivion. A vigorous search has yet to be made to discover the first and the tenth decad of *Patirruppattu*; and let us hope that the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts which has already won an undying name among Sanskritists by discovering and publishing Bhasa's plays and various other rare and valuable Sanskrit works, will also apply itself to the discovery and publication of the two missing decads of *Patirup-pattu*, relating as they do to Chera kings of antiquity, and of other old Tamil works, that may be found lying neglected in the collection of cadjan books still to be found in various places in Travancore and elsewhere.

I feel little doubt that the earliest Chera known to Tamil literature is Cheraman Perum Corru Udiyan Cheralatan, who is celebrated in song by Muranciyur Mudinagarayar in *puram 2*. That lyric which if we except some references to him in *Agananuru*, is the only poem sung in his honour, is given in translation below.

Hail, noble king! whose nature well combines
The qualities of all the elements;
Whose long, forgiving suff'ring is a match
To mother earth's; whose judgment wise is wide
As all-pervading ether, and whose might
Like air illimitable, and like fire
Resistless, with refreshful mercy still
Is tempered, which thy glorious sway upholds
As water cool enlivens nature's face.
Hail, warrior-king! Thy land with plenty smiles,
With untold wealth the deep sea's bosom yields,
And treasures new that ceaseless to thy ports
From foreign lands rich merchant vessels bring.
The sun that in thy eastern sea is born
In thy foam crested-western ocean seeks
His rest at eve. Sky bounds thy land alone!
Majestic monarch! When the ten times ten
Kauravas, crowned with golden *tumpai* wreaths,
Wrathful in battle 'gainst the heroes five—
Lords of the fiery steeds with tossing mane—
Their patrimony lusting after, fought,
Thou didst unstinted savoury food supply
To either host, till all the Kurus fell.
Illustrious king! though luscious milk may sour,
The sun his brilliance lose, and e'en the four
Vedas themselves their holy teachings change,
Mayst thou by ministers be served, whose love
For thee and wisdom in thy councils shall
Constant through all vicissitudes remain!
Mayst thou in power and glory steadfast shine
Throughout all time like Potiya's sacred mount
And golden peaked Himalaya, where rest
The dainty headed fawn and large-eyed deer,
Securely by the holy triple fire
Which for their ev'ning rites the sages raise!

In this translation, I have followed the ancient commentator of *Purananuru* who makes out that this Chera king was a contemporary of the Pandavas and the Kauravas, and

in the great battle of Kurukshetra, he supplied the rival armies with food. The words of the lyric need not, it seems to me, be necessarily so construed. Perhaps this king gave a memorial feast of the nature of a Sraddha at the anniversary of the Mahabharata War, in which the heroes from whom he traced his descent had died, and that is what the poet refers to here. This seems to be supported by a lyric by Mamulanar (*Agam* 233) which reads as follows :—

> மறப்படைக்குதிரை மாறாமைந்தின்
> றுறக்கமெய்திய தொய்யா நல்லிசை
> முதியர்ப்பேணிய வுதியஞ்சேரல்
> பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த ஞான்றை

Udiyan Cheral was obviously famous for his lavish hospitality, and his kitchen has become a bye-word for sumptuous feeding. Thus in Agam 168, we read கொடைக்கடனென்றகோடாநெஞ்சினுதியனட்டில் போல. This poem is by a Cheraman who is stated to have died at Kottambalam ; and perhaps he is identical with Kottambalattut-tunciya Mak-kodai. He tells us in this lyric that Udiyan's royal kitchen was at Kulumur, perhaps Ptolemy's Kourellour, a place situated possibly in North Travancore. We cannot say whether Kulumur was the original capital of the Chera ; perhaps it was, but we can only say that Tamil tradition does not appear to have known a time when the Chera capital was not Vanci. We see from *Agananuru* that Udiyan Cheral extended his kingdom by his conquests. Mamulanar refers to him in *Agam* 65 as நாடுகண்ணகற்றிய வுதியன் சேரல் that is, Udiyan Cheral who conquered others' territories and annexed them to his own. He seems to have won a naval victory ; for in *Agam* 45, Vellivitiyar refers to him as கடல் காலகிளர்ந்தவென்றி நல்வேல் வானவரம்பன் that is, Vanavaramban who with his victorious javelin overthrew his foes on the sea. Both here and in *puram* 2, Udiyan Cheral is called Vanavaramban. We do not know whether this epithet was originally வானவப்பன் the equivalent in Tamil of the well-known Devanampriya, and was afterwards by mistake written by a scribe as வானவரம்பன். It is interesting to note that among the several names denoting the Cheras வானவர் is one. If Udiyan Cheral was great in war, he was also great in the arts of peace. Trade and commerce flourished in the land, and marchant men called at its ports. He was a munificent patron of letters, as we see from *Agam* 65, were we read

உதியன்சேரல்
பாடிசென்ற பரிசிலர் போல
உவவினி வாழி,

He may be regarded as the founder of the Chera dynasty. Having regard to the scheme of arrangement adopted in *Patirrup-pattu*, there can be no doubt that he was the hero of the first decad of that collection, which is now unfortunately missing; for we find from the *Patigam* of II *Patirrup-pattu* that Udiyan Cheral was the father of Imayavaramban Nedum Cheralatan, the hero of that decad. From the same source we learn that Udiyan Cheral married Nallini, the daughter of Veliyan Venman, afterwards known as Cholan Porvaikko Perunarkilli, whose father, Tittan, we learn from the Sangam classics was the earliest of the Chola kings who ruled at Uraiyur.

It is possible to determine the probable date of Udiyan Cheral. In my paper entitled "A Problem of Ancient South Indian History" (I Indian Historical Quarterly; XVI Q. J. M. S.) and elsewhere I have given reasons for holding that Cen Kuttuvan the Great ascended the throne of the Chera Kingdom about 125 A. C. According to the accounts given in the decads of *Patirrup-pattu*, now available, three Cheras reigned before him *viz*:—

Imayavaramban Nedum Cheralathan for 58 years,
Palayanai Cel-kelu Kuttuvan for 25 years
and Kalankai-kanni Narmudi Cheral for 25 years

Udiyan Cheral was the father of Imayavaramban; and on the basis of the figures above given, Udiyan Cheral's concluding year would be 17 A. C. If we allow to Vanavaramban Udiyan Cheral's reign the conventional 25 years which cannot be held to be an exaggerated estimate, he may be regarded as having commenced his reign in circa. 8 B. C.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF ORIENTAL LITERATURE
BY
TRAVANCORE SOVEREIGNS.

By K. Sambasiva Sastrigal, Curator.

From time immemorial the Kings of Travancore were not only renowned for their valour and heroism, but also for their encouragement of arts and literature. It is no exaggeration to say that literature and arts were their chosen field for enjoyment-for the bliss of self-realisation. Such enjoyment was two-fold ; first, by the production of literary works and secondly by the appreciation of literary gems brought into existence by other authors. This literature comprised three languages, Tamil, Malayalam and Sanskrit. Though the capital of the Chera Kings was the land of Vanchi, they often used to march into the Pandya Desa, actuated by the desire to conquer their enemies and win for themselves undying reputation. These marches were conducive to a partiality for Tamil. As all the lands from Kerala to Kanchipura were once under the sway of the Chera Kings, the influence exerted by Tamil was considerable and would be clear to any one who had occasion to examine the manuscript libraries in Malabar. Four years ago, *i. e.*, in 1105, I had occasion to peruse an ancient Tamil manuscript by name Thiruvaimozhi in the library of Brahmadattan Namburippad of Kudallur, proving the truth of the statement made above. Similarly many manuscripts of the type are available in many places.

With the spread of Sanskrit throughout Southern India, all the Kings and Lords were delighted with it. In course of time, there emerged a Desa-bhasha. The result of the inter-play of Sanskrit and dialectic Tamil was the formation of the Malayalam language. This language would never have come into existence, but for the permeation of Sanskrit. But for the influence exerted by Sanskrit there would have been no Malayalam-speaking people, and all the people would have been Tamilians.

The fact that a language possesses extraordinary powers to radically change the history of the world can never be denied. And if the intensity of the connection between Malayalam and Sanskrit is diminishing by gradual degrees,

the change can only be attributed to the influence brought to bear on Malayalam language by English and other languages.

It is doubtful whether many have completely grasped the significance of the line :—

"संस्कृतहिमगिरिजाता"

The facts mentioned here will amply prove that the Chera Kings were highly delighted in the study of Tamil Literature.

Tamil Literature. The historical treatise Patittupattu deals with the epoch of the ancient Chera Kings. It is known that Elankovadikal the younger brother of the famous King Cheran Chenkuttuvan was the author of the Chilappatikaram Kavya and that he renounced all wordly thoughts, immersing himself in Sabda Brahma. It is also gleaned from historical treatises that Cheran Chenkuttuvan himself honoured two great poets, Bharanan and Chattanar and their works. It is widely known that some Dasakas in Patittupattu were written by the poet Bharanan. He was one of the foremost who had the fortune to receive presents from Chenkuttuvan. More than 80 songs seem to have been composed by him. Chattanar seems so have been a merchant of Madura. He was authorised to peruse and criticise and correct the works written by other poets It is seen from the following verse in Balaramabharata that a Chera King has written a work based on the story narrated by Sundara.

"कैलासशैलगमने पथि संस्मृतेन
भक्तेन सुन्दरवरेण स चेरभूपः ।
आरुह्य वाहमधिगम्य च शैलमीशे
श्रीसुन्दरेण कथितं चरितं चकार ॥"

It is not clear what this work was and which Chera King was responsible for this production.

It is well known that the famous King Kulasekhara Alvar was the author of a work called Tirumozhi, which is even now used for recitation in temples by Vaishnavas. Another work of this Kulasekhara Alvar named Mukundamala is held in high esteem by Keraliyas.

The famous King Kulasekhara Varma is the author of three dramas, Tapatisamvarana, Subhadradhananjaya and Vichhinnabhisheka and of the prose text Ascharyamanjari.

Of these, the first two works have been published as Nos. 11 and 13 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

The following sloka from Subhadradhananjaya shows that this Kulasekharavarma had good taste in music, and was well-read in Kalidasa's works, besides being generous and a staunch devotee of Vishnu.

"आसिक्तौ ग्रामरागैर्गलदमृतरसैर्भारतीभिर्वयन्तौ
कर्णौ नः कालिदासप्रविहितरचनाः कर्णपूरीक्रियास्ताम् ।
स्वीकुर्वन्तु स्वकीयं धनमिव सुहृदः स्वापतेयं मदीयं
चेतः पीताम्बरश्च प्रतिभवमभवः पादपीठीकरोतु ॥"

The Maharaja had great respect towards Pandits. This is evinced by the dialogue in verses quoted below, between Sumati, the commentator of Tapatisamvarana, and His Highness. The commentary referred to above has been written with a view to clearly bring out the hidden meaning conveyed in the work. This also shows that His Highness had an inordinate love towards Dvani kavyas in general.

"मुहूर्तं स्थितवत्यस्मिन् मय्यत्र स महीपतिः ।
श्रितप्रसादया दृष्ट्या वीक्षमाणः सभासदः ॥
अनुज्ञाप्योदगात् तस्मान्निरगच्छन्मया सह ।
... .
....
रहो नर्म वदन् प्रायान्मन्त्रशालामनन्यगाम् ॥
अथावदत् सुखासीनं मां नरेशः प्रहृष्टवान् ।
रचिताद्य मया विद्वन्! कथञ्चिन्नाटकद्वयी ॥
एकं संवरणं नाम धनञ्जयमितीतरत् ।
ध्वनिलक्षणयुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥
ध्वनियुक्काव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।
एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥
द्रष्टव्या भवता सेयं नाट्यलक्षणवेदिना ।
तां पश्यन्नवधार्यैषा सदसद्वेति कथ्यताम् ॥"

After the regime of the Chera Kings, there was a Raja named Venattadikal, who was a Tamil Poet. This Raja is

known to have composed a very sweet Tamil Kavya, Tiruvisaippa by name.

After that there was another King Rama Varma by name who was also called Chera Raja. It is becoming established that the old work Ramacharita is his composition and this fact is borne out by the concluding song in that text :—

ഏറ്റുനല്ലവഴിയല്ല [ം]ലന്നമോളങ്ങള (ം) റ (യി) [യ്]ന്തേവ-

[ത്തം തളരുമാറു വരും വൻപിറവിയും

ഓതയിൽക്കിടന്നു നീന്തുമതൊഴിത്തുകൊൾവതിനൊന്നുമില്ല

[തൊഴിലേത്തമ്മികവെന്നു നിന [യ്] വാ (യി) യ്

ആതിതേവനിലമി (ഴ) [ഴ്]ന്തമനക്കാമ്പുടയ ചീരാമനമ്പിനോ-

[ടിയമ്പിന തമി (ഴ) [ഴ്] കവി വെൽവോർ

പോതിൽമാതിനിടമാവരുടൽ വീ (ഴ) [ഴ്] വതിനു പിൻ

[പോകിപോകചയനൻചരണതാരണയ്വരേ.

Those who have read this work will be easily convinced that there is no other Mahakavya so sweet and so pregnant with poetical art.

We shall now proceed to the works of king Ravi Varma Kulasekhara, otherwise famous as Sangramadhira. It is known from historical records that many foreign Pandits who visited his court were highly honoured by him, that the kingdoms of Pandya and Chola were conquered by him, and that he was the Emperor of Southern India. He has written a drama, Pradyumnabhyudaya, published as No. 8 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. From the line occurring therein,

भरतजलधिकर्णधारः प्रबन्धा यदुक्ष्मापतिः ।

it is known that he was proficient in Bharatasastra and from the words of the Sutradhara,

"अस्ति किल सङ्गीतशास्त्रपारदृश्वना निखिलगुणरत्नरोहणगिरिणा कविजन-
मयूरकालमेघेन साहित्यविद्याविचक्षणेन दक्षिणभोजराजेन महाराजपरमे-
श्वरेण सङ्ग्रामधीरापरनामधेयेन श्रीरविवर्मदेवेन विरचितं प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदयं नाम
नाटकम् ।"

which give an insight into the name of the author, it is also understood that he was a lover of literature and music and that he fostered and encouraged poets and scholars. The line

"कथं दक्षिणभोज! त्वां ब्रुवते बुद्धिमद्वरम् ।"

bears ample testimony to the fact that he was celebrated as Bhojaraja. It is also known from the stanza,

"भूपालैरिलकार्तवीर्यसगरैर्यः पूर्वमासीत् कृतः
पश्चात् प्रौढतमोहरं यदुपतिस्तं भद्रदीपोत्सवम् ।
चक्रे शक्र इवाश्रयः सुमनसां सम्राट् त्रयीधर्मविद्
रङ्गेऽस्मिन् रुचिराङ्कसंश्रितरमारोचिष्णवे विष्णवे ॥"

inscribed on the walls of Srirangam temple that he had celebrated the on great Bhadradipa festival at Srirangam. From the Sutradhara's words,

"सङ्ग्रामभूमिषु सभासु च धीर एष
शस्त्रेण बुद्धिविभवेन च तैक्ष्ण्यभाजा ।
दर्पान्धकारितधियो नृपतीन् बुधांश्च
जित्वा क्षितौ विहरते जयसिंहसूनुः ॥"

it is known that the king was famous not only for his valour and heroism in war but equally so in the councils of learned men.

The next Maharaja Aditya Varma, also called Sarvanganatha was a great scholar, poet, musician and grammarian, besides being proficient in Dharmasastra and Arthasastra, as is known from the inscriptions in the Sri Krishna temple at Vadasseri. As instances, the following stanzas written by himself as well as by other poets may be referred to:—

"शब्दज्ञोऽस्म्यथ लक्ष्यलक्षणगुरुः साहित्यसङ्गीतयोः
स्मृत्यर्थात्मपुराणशास्त्रनिगमान् जाने प्रमाणान्यपि ।
षट्त्रिंशत्स्वपि हेतिषु श्रमगुणैरशोभे कलानां कुला-
न्यभ्यासे युधि भूपतींश्च विजये सर्वाङ्गनाथोऽस्म्यतः ॥

साहित्ये निपुणाः केचित्
केचित् शास्त्रे च कोविदाः ।
केचिद् गीते कृताभ्यासाः
केचित् शास्त्रे कृतश्रमाः ॥

आदित्यवर्मन्! भवतः
साम्यमिच्छन्ति ते कथम्।
पारंगतेन विद्याना-
मेकां विद्यां समाश्रिताः ॥"

In the Bhashasandesa Kavya, Unninilisandesa the King is eulogised thus:--

"ആകല്പം വാണരുളുക പകയർക്കന്തകാ! ഹന്ത ഭൂമി-
ക്കാകല്പം നീ മഴവർമണിയേ! പാണിയും പൂവിൽമാതും
വീകിച്ചേ വന്നഴകൊടു പുണർന്നീടുമാതിച്ചവർമ്മാ!
മേഘത്തോടും കൊടയിലിടയിന്റോരു കല്യാണസിന്ധോ!"

The next King who ruled the land was Vira Ravivarma Kulasekhara. It is known from the inscription in the Keralapuram Temple, namely,

"പത്മനാഭപാദാരവിന്ദസേവകരുമായി, തുലാപുരുഷാദി-ഷോഡശമഹാദാനദാതാവുമായി, സകലവിദ്യാപാരങ്ഗതരുമായി, സർവ്വജനരക്ഷാധുരന്ധരരുമായി, സമസ്തരിപുവർഗ്ഗതമോഭേദസൂര്യരുമായി."

that he was conversant with all sciences. Further from another inscription in the same place,

"श्रीपद्मनाभपदपङ्कजभक्तिभूम-
प्रादुर्भवत्प्रचुरसम्पदुमातनूजः।
राजा कथां रघुपते रविवर्मनामा
तत् संजिघृक्षति सतां मुदमातनोतु ॥"

it is seen that he was the son of Umayamma Rani and the author of Ramayanakathasangraha.

The next king to be referred to is the famous Martanda Varma (1729-1758)— the maker of Modern Travancore. Though he did not assume the reins of administration early in youth, he took great interest in political matters and spared no pains in the extermination of all political opponents and reconstruction of Travancore. All the countries that he conquered with foresight and statesmanship were humbly dedicated to his tutelary deity Sri Padmanabha. Though he was highly interested in literature he could find no time to take any active part in that field. But there is sufficient testimony to show that he made munificent grants to poets and scholars.

Among the learned men who sought his protection, mention may be made of the following persons, namely, Devaraja, Ramapanivada, Ramapurathu Varyar and Kunchan Nambiar, of whom Devaraja is the author of an excellent drama Balamartandavijaya, published as No. 108 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Besides, he was the class-mate and friend of His Highness's nephew Sri Ramavarma Yuvaraja—a great scholar and poet. Devaraja earned for himself the title of modern Kalidasa. The derivation of this title is thus indicated in the words of the king,

"वाचि तत्त्वार्थसंयोगात् कालिदासो नवो ह्यसौ ।
बह्वः कवयः सन्ति भुवने कवयन्ति ये ॥"

Another stanza:—

"जयप्रस्थानवेलायामस्मै व्याक्षेपहारिणे ।
अग्रहारद्वयं दत्तं वृत्त्यलङ्कारहेतवे ॥"

also proves that two houses and many garlands were given to him as presents. It is known from another stanza in the same drama *viz*,

"एका भूषणभूषितेयमितरा माणिक्यहारोज्ज्वला
कौशेयाम्बरधारिणीयमपरा चामीकराढ्या परा ।
एषा पेटचतुष्टयी मणिमयी सम्मानिता ते मया
धीमन्! मामकपद्मनाभचरिताख्यातुः प्रबन्धात्मना ॥

that four boxes containing many ornaments, gold, emeralds and silks were also presented to him by the king.

Ramapanivada was a Keraliya and a great poet. He is known to be the author of Raghaviyamahakavya, Sitaraghava— a dramatic treatise and of many Rupakas, *e. g.*, Lilavati, Chandrika etc. It is known from the following stanza in Sitaraghavanataka

अधिस्यानन्दूरं जयति जगतीपालनपरं
परं ज्योतिः शीतद्युतिधवलशेषाहिशयनम् ।
यदन्तः सन्तन्वन्नखिलनृपतीनां ननु परं
सुराणामप्युच्चैरधिवसति मार्ताण्डनृपतिः ॥"

and from the statement.

"तत्र तावत् त्वदुपन्यस्ताधिकगुणगणसम्पन्नेन वैकुण्ठतोऽप्यतिशय-रमणीयतत्तन्नव्यद्रव्यसम्पूरितस्यानन्दूरमन्दिरेण सर्वात्मना पद्मनाभसमर्पितसम-

स्तनिजविभवेन सर्वसामन्तकुलमुकुटमाणिमरीचिवीचिनीराजितचरणकमलेन इ-
दानन्तिनेन राज्ञा वञ्चिमार्ताण्डेन"

occurring therein that he was a dependant of Martandavarma and from the words,

"राज्ञा वञ्चिमार्ताण्डेन"

that he elicited the king's admiration even before the time the latter ascended the throne.

That Ramapurathu Varyar was a Malayalam Poet and dependent on the King is clearly proved from the following portion occurring in Kuchelavrtham Vanchippattu,

മൂർത്തിമൂന്നും മുപ്പത്തുമുക്കോടിദേവന്മാരുമൊരു
മൂർത്തിയായ് മുപ്പാരിന്നു വിളക്കുമായ്
മാർത്താണ്ഡാഖ്യയായിരിക്കും പ്രത്യക്ഷ ദേവതയുടെ
മാഹാത്മ്യമോർത്തിട്ടു .നസ്സലിഞ്ഞിടുന്നു.

It is widely known that this song was composed by Varyar within the short time that he was permitted to accompany the King from Vaikom Temple to Trivandrum. It is equally well-known that Kunchan Nambiar was also a dependent of the King. The report that His Highness spoke in praise of Nalacharita written by Unnayi Varyar in preference to the innumerable works of Kunchan Nambiar has spread in all parts of this land. It is a matter for surprise that such a brave and heroic king found great delight in the encouragement of arts and letters.

From a publication entitled Sri Martanda Mahatmyam Kilippattu, recently edited and brought to light by Mr. M. Raja Raja Varma M. A., B. L. Retired Devaswom Commissioner, it is clearly manifest that His Highness Marthanda Varma Maharaja attended a Sastra-sadas at Madura, during his stay there, and that by dint of his arguments, vanquished all the Pandits assembled there. This is borne out by the following lines quoted from the above publication,

"പിന്നെയങ്ങൊരുദിനം മന്ത്രിസാകന്റെ മുമ്പിൽ
വന്നിട്ടു ഉ ബ്ബുവണ്ണർ സംസാരിക്കുന്നനേരം
സുബന്തേ തിങന്തേ തത് പ്രകൃതിപ്രത്യയങ്ങൾ
സംബന്ധമായിട്ടുള്ളും വികരിച്ചീടുന്നതും
തത് ക്രമപ്രകരണം .... ദാനപയാദി
ഉത് ക്രമമനുക്രമമായിട്ടു വരുന്നതും

സൂത്രകല്പനകളിലുള്ളൊരു യുക്തി(താനം)
ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ ധാത്രീന്ദ്രന്റെ മുഖത്തിൽനിന്നു തദാ
തടിനീസരസ്വതിയാദികളൊഴുകുമ്പോ-
ലിളകിവരുന്നതു കണ്ടു ഭീതരായ്ത്തുന്നാർ."

In another portion of the same book, it is stated that His Highness held a conversation in Sanskrit with a Brahmin messenger of the then Raja of Quilon. The following lines from the book go to prove that His Highness was quite at home in the art of speaking in Sanskrit,

"സൂരികൾമുമ്പനായുള്ളൊരുബ്രാഹ്മണൻ
ഭൂരിമോദാത് പറഞ്ഞീടിനാൻ സംസ്കൃതേ.

"सङ्घूर्णघोरस्य दूतोऽस्म्यहं नृप !
व्यङ्गमाकर्णय भूपालभाषितम् ।
एकवंशोद्भवावावां महीपते !
नाशं विधातुं तु नार्हाव भूपती ॥
दूतोक्तिमेवमाकर्ण्य नृपोऽवदत्
सङ्घूर्णघोरोऽप्यतिपातकोऽस्त्यहो ।
आकर्णनीयं नहि पापिनामकं
शीघ्रं हनिष्यामि हे तं सर द्विज ! ॥"

After that, Rama Varma Kartika Tirunal, famous as Dharmaraja reigned from 1758 to 1798. He equalled his uncle in valour and heroism, as is proved by the fact that he extended Travancore by the annexation of Alangad and Parur Taluks and dedicated the conquered portions also to Sripadmanabha. He was not only a great poet and scholar, but a highly accomplished person in Bharananatyasastra. He has composed a Natyasastra work known as Balaramabharatam In it, he has made suitable changes in the art of dancing as necessitated by the requirements of the country. The following verses from Balaramabharata referring to the greatness of his dynasty may be read with advantage :—

श्रीबालरामकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूपः
सङ्गीततालभरताम्बुधिपूर्णचन्द्रः ।
आदक्षिणाब्धिहिमभूधरमात्तकीर्ति-
र्विद्याकलाविनयभूः परिरक्षति क्ष्माम् ॥

चेरक्षितीशकुलभूषणदिव्यरत्नं
श्रीकेरलक्षितिभृदद्भुतमौलिरत्नम् ।
विद्वद्गणस्य मुखपङ्कजमित्ररत्नं
श्रीबालरामकुलशेखरराजरत्नम् ॥
लास्यतन्त्रमवलोक्य विशालं
शास्त्रमारचितमात्मसुखाय ।
बालरामभरतं बुधवर्याः
पश्यताद्भुतरसाधिकचित्रम् ॥

It is known that many musicians, scientists and great poets like Devaraja and scholars like Sadasiva Dikshita adorned the King's court. Of these Puthiyakkal Tampan and Ittirarisamenon have written Kathakali works. A scholar known as Kalyanasubrahmanya has written a rhetorical treatise called Alankarakaustubha, panegyrizing Ramavarma. One stanza from it is quoted below :—

"राराजन्मधुराधरां प्रविलसच्चोलां कनत्कुन्तलां
काश्मीराङ्गविभूषणातिललितां काञ्चीगुणालङ्कृताम् ।
क्षोणीं श्रीरघुरामवन्निरुपमां रत्नाकरोरूर्मिका-
जालां तामनुरञ्जयत्वनुदिनं श्रीरामवर्मप्रभुः ॥"

It is also seen that the scholar Subrahmanya has written a Kavya, named Padmanabhavijaya in 8 cantos A stanza for example is quoted below : -

आचन्द्रतारकमयं भुवि वञ्चिपाल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ।
श्रीपद्मनाभकृपया सहभागिनेयः
श्रीमान् मृकण्डुसुतवज्जयतु स्थिरायुः ॥"

Sadasiva Dikshita has also written a work named Ramavarmayasobhushana clearly bringing out the King's deep insight in music and literature. Two stanzas from the same are quoted below:—

"विद्वद्गजानपि निरङ्कुशवर्तिनः स्वै
रुद्ध्वा गुणैः कनकशृङ्खलिकानुबद्धान् ।
कृत्वा वस प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिबाल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौम ! ॥

यदृच्छासल्लापैः समधिगतषट्तन्त्रविभवै-
श्चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सपदि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
कवीन् धिन्वन् गानक्रमविवरणाद् गायकवरान्
परिष्कुर्वन् वञ्चिक्षितिपतिलकोऽयं विजयते ॥"

The youngest brother of Edavettikattu Nambudiri has written a work Rukmaniparinayam by name and a stanaza referring to the King runs thus:—

"राजा किमिन्दुरपि नार्यभिमानहारी
राजा परं विजयते भुवि रामवर्मा ।
नालीकभङ्गकृदतीव नदीनबन्धु-
र्नक्षत्रपो नवसुधाविभवैकहेतुः ॥"

This famous Maharaja had a nephew, Asvati Tirunal Rama Varma, who was gifted with poetical talents both in Sanskrit as well as Malayalam. He is the author of a number of works. Among them may be mentioned, Vanchimaharajastavam, Kuchelvrttam and Kartaviryavijayam (Campus): Rukminiparinayam (Natakam); Rukminisvaymvaram, Poundrakavadham and Putanamoksham (Attakatha). It is also known that Asvati Tirunal Rama Varma completed the work Narakasuravadham Attakatha, begun by his uncle Rama Varma Maharaja. The poetical talent inherent in the nephew was noticed by the uncle who, it is said, has inserted in his Rajasuyam Kathakali, the following sloka written by the former describing the Chakrayudha of Vishnu.

"भास्वद्भास्करभासुरारिनिकरप्रोद्यच्छदुस्रच्छटा-
सद्यःक्लृप्तकरालमांसलतमोभङ्गं रथाङ्गाभिधम् ।
वैकुण्ठस्य सुरारिकण्ठकदलीकाण्डाटवीकर्तन-
क्रीडाजस्रविनोदसाधकतमं प्रादुर्बभूवायुधम् ॥"

Next comes the great Svati Tirunal Maharaja, (1829—1847) famous as the claimant to prenatal sovereignty, as there was no other heir-apparent for the throne before his birth. Quite early in youth he acquired consummate erudition in the art of music and in different literatures. The following musicians and scholars were honoured by the King; Ksirabdhi Sastri, Bhattacharya of Choladesa, Gaudavasudeva

Sastri, Ayyasastri, Meruswami, Vadivelu, Sivanandam, Chinnayya and Parameswara Bhagavatar etc.

Though the musical songs are composed in conformity with those of Tyagaraja, all his compositions have a sweetness peculiarly their own, inasmuch as they are devoted to the praise of Sripadmanabha. Of his Sanskrit works, Bhaktimanjari and Syanandurapuravarnanaprabandha have already been published from this office.

Though he has written many literary works, the fact that he had a special predilection for music is amply borne out by the following stanza.

"आक्रान्ता कलिनेव हन्त जगती पापीयसा गायक-
व्यूहेन क्षितिपालसंसदखिलाक्रान्ता समन्तादपि ।
नृत्यत्पङ्कजसम्भवप्रणयिनीलीलारविन्दोदरा-
मन्दस्यन्दिमरन्दसुन्दरगिरां कुत्रावकाशोऽस्तु नः ॥"

There are many works of the type of Utsavaprabandhas and Upakhyanas written by His Highness in Sanskrit and Malayalam. To show the consummation of his literary taste, it is reported that he made munificent grants to a scholar who disclosed his unbearable proverty by the following stanza,

"दारिद्र्यस्य दयालुत्वं किं ब्रवीमि नराधिप! ।
आत्मनाशमनादृत्य भवन्तं मामदर्शयत् ॥"

Similarly, many Tampis, Koil Tampurans and feudatary chiefs of Malabar have been the recipients of many presents from His Highness. The following three stanzas written by them deserve mention :—

"श्रीदोऽपि किन्नरपतिः स परं कुबेरो
यस्याधिकं नवसुधा परितोषदात्री ।
तद्राजराज इति नाम कथं तदीय-
मन्वर्थमस्ति नृपते! भवतस्तु युक्तम् ॥"

Tampi

"वाणी यस्य मनोरमा कुवलयानन्दप्रदं यन्मुखं
पाणी सन्ततचिन्तितार्थघटनाचिन्तामणी चार्थिनाम् ।

मीमांसापदमेव मध्यमलघु श्रुत्यन्तसञ्चारिणी
इष्टिस्तं नृपमन्तरा भगवती विद्या कुतो वर्तते ॥"

Koil Tampuran

"षष्ठीतत्पुरुषाह्वयो नृपतिषु प्रायेण विद्वत्प्रभू-
शब्दः सम्प्रति कर्मधारयतयाप्याभाति वञ्चीश्वरे ।
इत्यालोच्य विलोक्य सम्प्रति बहुव्रीहित्वमेतत्पदे
किं शोकादिव न स्थितिः क्वचिदपि द्वन्द्वाव्ययीभावयोः ॥"

Elaya Tampuran of Cranganore

Martandavarma Maharaja who reigned from 1847 to 1860, was a literary connoisseur who had special interest in Kathakali. He has written a Kathakali work, named Simhadhvajacharitam. His reign was the golden age of Kathakali. It is known that by virtue of his deep insight into it he has himself acted in Kathakali.

In 1860 Rama Varma Maharaja (Ayilliam Tirunal) ascended the throne. He was proficient in all arts, especially in music and literature. He used to adorn all councils convened for musical concerts and Sastraic discussions. Mr. Elathur Ramaswami Sastrigal, widely known as Gomatidasan used to preside over his council. Mr. Sastrigal was even permitted to tender advice in Sastraic matters. He has composed many works namely Vrttaratnakara, Jalandharasuravadham Kathakali, the commentary on Srikrishnavilasam etc. The King's council was adorned by many great musicians, *viz*,. Raghavabhagavathar and others.

His Highness was a research scholar of a high order as is evinced by the fact that he ordered the collection of all the manuscripts found in the various places in the State, especially in Padmanabhapuram, in Southern Travancore, with a view to treasure them up in the Palace Library. It is worthy of note that this collection included manuscripts unearthed from the Manalikkara Matom. His Highness the Maharaja while examining these works bearing in mind the following sloka from Rajasekharakavi (regarding authorship),

"भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥"

happened to look into the grantha which he identified as "Svapnavasavadatta", the most important of Bhasa's plays.

His Highness has written some works in Malayalam prose such as Sakuntala, Meenaketanacarita etc.

Sri Visakham Tirunal (1880—1885) had great respect for Sanskrit literature. He was not only a poet, but took special interest in honouring scholars in Sastras and music. The following stanza,

"भास्वान् भास्वानिवौजस्वी गङ्गा गङ्गेव पावनी।
लक्षदीपोपमो लोके लक्षदीपमहोत्सवः॥"

exhibited in Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple in connection with Lekṣadīpa is said to be composed by His Highness.

His Highness Sri Mulam Tirunal who reigned from 1885 to 1924 is mainly responsible for the spread of Oriental Culture throughout the world. It was His Highness who inaugurated the Sanskrit College, Ayurveda College and introduced many new schools, throughout the State. This department for the publication of Oriental Manuscripts owes its birth to the kind patronage of His Highness and it has to be specially borne in mind that the Silver Jubilee which we are celebrating to-day is the fruition of the generous step taken by Him.